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PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE

SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXT-BOOKS

EDITED BY RICHARD T. ELY

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PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE

BY

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DIRECTOR, MISSOURI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

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REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

This revision has become necessary owing to the volume of facts that have been gathered since the publication of the first edition of *Problems of Child Welfare* and to the new developments in methods of social work. There have been many changes in the general program of child welfare work in the last ten years. Furthermore in addition to improvements in detail that have been made, new philanthropic machinery has been created. Developments such as vocational guidance, the visiting teacher movement and the Federal Maternity and Infancy Law must find a place in a text that aspires to treat each of the important child problems of the day.

Revision and amplification of the subject matter have also required a careful inspection of all statistical tables. In many cases the statistics in the original text were no longer useful for illustrative purposes and needed thorough revision. Nevertheless in a number of instances the original tables have been allowed to remain, and that for two reasons. First, certain statistical data are of a general character and are valid for an indefinite period of time, and more recent facts, if procurable, would simply confirm the previously tabulated results; and, second, some of the older investigations presented information in so satisfactory a manner that nothing superior to these tables has since been reported. Such figures, if apparently valid to-day, were also allowed to stand. Throughout the book, however, new facts and current illustrations have been used, and wherever the spirit of the discussion revealed points of view now obsolete, every effort has been made to revise such sections of the book in accordance with the best thought of the day.

The author hopes that these revisions and additions will renew the usefulness of *Problems of Child Welfare* in the same fields in which it has served for the past decade.

GEO. B. MANGOLD.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
January, 1924.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

With the gradual shifting of the emphasis from remedial to preventive and constructive work, problems of child welfare have received much attention, largely on the theory that work with children is fundamentally constructive in its nature. Believing that the best results are achieved by beginning with the child, the author has attempted to present in a systematic way the principles of child welfare, and to correlate the different problems involved. The task consists mainly of adjusting the constructive philanthropy of to-day to the needs of the child, his improvement being the direct objective. While it is recognized that every social problem involves children, those questions that affect them only in an indirect way are excluded from the book, and the subject matter is limited to the problems of direct and immediate interest, so as to make a consistent treatment of the subject possible. To meet the need as adequately as the author can hope to do in a single volume, each separate problem has been analyzed with reference to causes and conditions, to the existing social machinery for coping with the problem, and to a plan and program of improvement or prevention.

The book is designed especially for use by college and university students in courses on constructive and preventive philanthropy. However, the general reader has not been forgotten, and it is hoped that the book will appeal to that growing class of men and women who in a systematic way are endeavoring to acquaint themselves with the various aspects of practical sociology.

The author is happy to express his indebtedness to Professor Richard T. Ely for his suggestions as to the form and subject matter of the book, for his careful reading of the manuscript, and for his many valuable criticisms and suggestions for improvement.

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PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE

PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

In modern social work the emphasis has been shifted from the parent to the child. The fact that this is so is due largely to belief in the principle "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Not relief but prevention is the slogan of modern social work; not palliatives but fundamental social reforms are demanded to-day. It is well then to begin with the child, for he presages the coming man. He is the plastic material that can be molded ill or well; he is gigantic in possibilities, but dwarfed if without opportunity.

We are beginning to realize that the more time and energy are spent on the child, the more lasting and profitable is the investment. To educate and train the child is worth infinitely more than to labor with the deficiencies of the man with his crystallized habits and morals.

Again, child welfare involves adequate physical, mental, and moral development. If proper attention is not given to this, it is not possible to cope successfully with the varied problems of daily life. Childhood is the time of preparation; afterward little can be accomplished. Let society concentrate more of its energies on the child, instead of scattering them as it does to-day, and then with an equal expenditure of effort it will accomplish more good than can be realized in any other way.

1. The Child and Heredity.

At once the twin forces of heredity and environment confront society and complicate the problems which are to be solved. Of the two, heredity has probably been the subject of the more serious study. Biologists and psychologists are

continually adding to our knowledge of the power and influence of heredity, and of its capability of benefiting or injuring the race. The term heredity has no uniform use in popular language. It will, therefore, for the sake of clearness, be limited in meaning in this book to the transmission by the parent to the offspring of those physical and mental characteristics which are potentially present in the germ-plasm of the parent. These characteristics in turn may be inherited or may be the result of toxins that injure the germ-plasm. Usually they are present at birth; often, however, they do not appear until later in life; for example, many cases of insanity appearing in middle life are truly inherited. On the other hand, certain defects present at birth are not necessarily innate. Instead of being inherited, they are due to peculiar prenatal conditions of the mother. These defects are classified as "acquired," and the offspring will not bequeath them to subsequent progeny.

Certain facts have been so definitely established by students of heredity that the sociologist can use them as corner stones on which to build a system of preventive work. In many cases the child is doomed before birth, and no later training can prepare him for a normal social life. Thus defective heredity is responsible for a large proportion of the children who are condemned to such lifelong abnormalities as idiocy, imbecility, backwardness, deaf-mutism, criminality, and certain forms of constitutional disease. As a result, these defects may be expected to reappear in the offspring of each subsequent generation. It is further an unfortunate fact that some of these defective groups are much more prolific than the normal classes. A recent English Royal Commission states that the birth rate among the feeble-minded is double that of the general population. It is apparent from this that there is danger of a gradual dilution of the quality of the race unless preventive measures are adopted.

Within the last decade the application of the principles of heredity for the purpose of raising the physical and mental

standards of the race has been much discussed, and a plan of practical eugenics is being gradually formulated. Strictly speaking, eugenics is the art of improving the race by selecting for survival the superior qualities inherent in men and rejecting those which are inferior. It means race development, and is concerned with improvements of a permanent nature. So-called practical eugenics is often made to apply wrongly to methods of promoting individual strength and capacity. The eugenist is correct in emphasizing the principle that every child be well born, that he be innately endowed with the capacity for development into a normal adult. The difficulty, however, lies in the carrying out of a program of attainment. For this reason two phases of the subject have been developed; "negative" and "positive" eugenics.

Negative eugenics deals exclusively with the unfit classes. Among them reproduction is to be prevented, so that they may be gradually eliminated. The marriage of a feeble-minded person must not only be prohibited, but such steps must be taken as will insure his practical sterilization. By segregating idiots, imbeciles, instinctive criminals, and other groups in institutions this can be accomplished. But custodial care must be permanent to make this plan successful. So large a proportion of these classes are eventually released that one group of social workers favors sterilization as the best preventive measure. Thirteen states have already passed laws providing for a limited amount of sterilization in institutions. With one exception, however, these laws have so far generally remained inoperative. Without doubt the most serious cases of defect can be handled either through sterilization or custodial care. From the eugenic point of view, in fact, these offer fewer difficulties than do the thousands who suffer from slighter defects. Most of the latter are capable of partial self-support, and are not regarded as subjects for institutional care. Besides, the cost seems almost prohibitive. But these people will not refrain from intermarrying with others who are similarly defective, while sterilization cannot even be

mentioned. No generally accepted program of action to solve this question has as yet been developed. However, sentiment is growing in favor of the gradual segregation of these groups.

Laws prohibiting intermarriage between first cousins and other near relatives may be considered a form of negative eugenics. The large proportion of defectiveness among Jews, Mennonites, and other consanguineous groups shows how important such prohibitions are. The consanguineous marriages per se are not blameworthy, and it may safely be said that if the intermarrying stocks are vigorous, no harm will result. There are probably no perfect families, however, and strains of weakness are present in all. If two persons affected with the same weakness, as is likely in the case of relatives, marry each other, this weakness will probably be intensified in their children. For this reason such marriages should be prohibited. The recent agitation in favor of a certificate of health prior to marriage is also based on the desire to prevent the birth of unhealthy children.

Turning to the field of positive eugenics, we find that this has been cultivated but sparsely. The elementary principles have not even been established. The first step to be taken is the creation of a standard of superiority or perfection. This has not been done, nor can it be done with our present limitations of knowledge. We do not know how much bulk and how many parts each organ of the body must contribute to the whole to form the man, perfect in body, in mind, and soul. When standards are established, how will they be applied? How can people be persuaded to apply them? According to a recent English investigation, defectives are found in larger proportion among the first and second born than among the younger children. Further investigation may show that environment is a factor in determining this condition; if not, then large families will give us a smaller proportion of feeblemindedness. But does any eugenist believe that we can or will return to an era of large families?

Suppose the eugenist has worked out the proper correlation

between physical organ and mental quality; suppose the innate tendencies of parents are known and we can predicate absolutely the characteristics of their children; then the most difficult problem of all remains,—that of mating individuals properly adapted to each other. To-day marriages depend on love, financial condition, the coercion of custom, and other factors. Is it possible for the course of love to be deflected by eugenic considerations? Will the intermarriage of fortunes be prevented for similar reasons? It is true that occasional cases of foresight and self-restraint occur from time to time, but for the masses the near future holds no such hope in prospect. Education for decades, and perhaps for centuries, is necessary to make even a beginning in the art of positive eugenics.

Francis Galton and his followers are the practical originators of the eugenic idea. These men have held to the Neo-Darwinian theory of heredity and have opposed the theory that acquired characteristics are inherited. Eugenic philosophy, therefore, adheres largely to the views of its founders. Race progress by selection is the dominant note. The recently rediscovered Mendelian law threatens to complicate the problem, and its application to the human race will be exceedingly difficult. Often the effects would not be apparent until the second generation, when, of course, it would be too late. Positive eugenics cannot make much substantial progress until it considers the mental and moral qualities of men as well as the physical; but this step will at once involve the problem and will make it difficult to realize the aims of the eugenic philosophy.

2. The Factor of Environment.

The term environment covers a multitude of influences. Some of these act before birth, but the majority are postnatal in character. These influences affect both body and mind, and thus help to determine physique and mentality. In many respects environment is the dominating factor of human development, and this applies especially to the period of childhood.

The physiology of children proves them to be extremely plastic in body, and psychology has rendered a similar verdict in respect to their mental qualities. Men are not grown up children, as the philosopher has said; they have been developed and transformed. A man having the same proportions as a child would be a monstrosity. The water constituency of a fœtus is 97 per cent; of a child, 74; of a man, only 58. Truly age withers the human being. The infant has a large head, and the child at five has a head which has nearly reached its maximum growth, but his legs are short and his arms lack the proportions that exist in the adult. So with the internal organs; at birth the weight of the human brain is almost exactly one-seventh of that of the entire body, while in adult life it is about 2.4 per cent. Proportionately the former is six times as heavy as the latter, but the brain of the child is largely water, the gray and the white matter are not clearly distinguishable, and the convolutions are not marked. The babe is absolutely helpless. Most mammals have more initial capacity for self-support than he, but the brain and nervous system of the child, with its splendid possibilities, offers a remarkable field for the operation of environmental forces.

The blood constituency of the child is peculiar, for there is a large disproportion of white corpuscles and a singular absence of red ones. Strength and vitality come with a shifting of these proportions. Again, the child has much muscular tissue, but undeveloped and weak tendons. His heart is comparatively large, and so in general are the other internal organs. So different is the child from the man, that the right food, proper exercise, and correct training given throughout the period of flexibility should be capable of wonderful results.

Prenatal conditions must be studied and their effects noted. Then proper attention must be demanded for the prospective mother during the period of gestation. Formerly it was generally believed that a special mental bent or potential proficiency in some art could be deliberately imparted by the foresighted mother. This belief, however, has become anti-

quated and lacks scientific support, but a new question has recently arisen. What influence has the physical condition of the expectant mother on the physique of her child? Investigation shows this influence to be considerable, and that the child may suffer constitutionally if subjected to abnormal conditions during his prenatal life. Nature has done her utmost to protect the child, and sacrifices the mother thereby, but complete protection is not afforded. The fœtus receives its nourishment through absorption of food, still toxins affecting the mother are passed on. If it is insufficiently nourished, it is surely retarded in development, and sometimes defects of a permanent character are produced.

Since the nutritive process is so important, it must be carefully controlled. Any interruption in the continuous absorption of the food elements may halt the regular development of the child. Therefore it must not be allowed to suffer from malnutrition. Many causes, however, operate to produce injurious results. Perhaps the mother is overworked and has no surplus energy to impart to the child. Worry interferes with digestion and may injure the child. Fright has no direct effect, but the shock to the nervous system means interference with the nutritive system and a possible interruption in the free development of the fœtus. Finally the mother may herself suffer from malnutrition. At all events, the injury is accomplished chiefly through the interrupted development caused by interferences with the nutritive processes, and peculiar defects frequently result. Consequently this becomes a matter of tremendous importance. The early postnatal life of the child must be guarded in a similar manner.

John Fiske first saw that the helplessness of the newly born babe coupled with the prolongation of his period of childhood furnished untold possibilities of development. The relative importance of instinct and the remarkable plasticity of the child allow the marvelous development of reason that man has enjoyed. A long childhood makes room for the play of environmental forces, and this influence is stronger in proportion to

the initial helplessness of the child. The more the native flexibility, the greater is the capacity for training and for nurture. The impressionable child easily yields to the influence of contact with the remaining members of the family. In early life certain characteristics and psychical traits become relatively fixed, owing to constant association with special mental types. That part of the child's psychical nature which is clearly and absolutely individual and his own is relatively small. The greater portion of his characteristic mental endowment is gained from the interaction of his own small mental nucleus with the minds of his parents and other members of the family. It is well known how ardently adults cling to the beliefs and traditions acquired during childhood. Social heredity within the family—that is, the transmission of ancestral ideas, traditions, prejudices, and knowledge—is a powerful factor in the life of every normal individual. "Like father, like son," is often largely the result of this kind of communication and influence. Thousands of years of stationary civilization in China furnish a most striking example; likewise the forces that retarded the woman's movement of the nineteenth century. The general tendency of children to follow the religious and political beliefs of their parents illustrates the power of social heredity, but social heredity is only a form of environment. The fixation of mental and moral traits in the human being should be a paramount consideration in the training and development of the child during the entire adolescent period of his life. Right training from the earliest self-conscious moments of life is therefore a matter of great sociological importance.

Most important among the conditions of environment are the home surroundings of the child. His home environment continues comparatively unchanged for a longer period of time than do external conditions. Home life and adequate home training are therefore vital in the development of the child. Unless prevented, the child, particularly the boy, soon becomes subject to influences emanating from without the home, and

these in turn tend to mold his character as well as to affect his physical well-being. His associates, the manner of his life, the sanitary conditions of school, street, alley, or workshop,—all of these considerations directly affect both his physique and his character. Attention to the environment of the child both within and without the home is accordingly the *sine qua non* of the solution of our child problems.

In the study of the influence of environment, the opinion of the expert sociologist should carry weight, and his investigations are establishing certain conclusions upon which definite rules of action can now be based. The knowledge that a bad environment is responsible for the seriousness of many of our child problems paves the way for an easier and more effective treatment of the subject than could be given if bad heredity were the root of the difficulties. Much has already been accomplished by carrying into effect the suggestions of sociologists holding this point of view.

3. Child Problems and Statistics.

The reports and publications of our various national organizations interested in child welfare have been of tremendous value to social workers, particularly with reference to their thinking and their method of meeting problems. Much of our recent legislation is based on carefully prepared studies of the problems involved. Only in this way can we hope to make our laws actually fit given situations and serve the people in the manner that their proponents desire. Those well-meaning individuals who clamor for legislation in a particular state because similar legislation is in vogue in another state may be interested in social welfare but their methods are crude and unscientific and frequently they burn up an immense amount of energy in a struggle to attain some nugatory result when the expenditure of this energy in behalf of a scientifically justified program of reform would not only result in the adoption of the program, but a positive achievement for the cause of child welfare would also be accomplished.

Again, the work of national societies is not in all cases

conclusive for individual states or communities. The larger study is not necessarily valid for the smaller area, but it usually has a value in determining the scope and method of the local investigations, on the results of which a local program must finally depend. A good illustration is afforded by the work of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene which reports amazing differences in the proportion of backward and feeble-minded children in the schools of different parts of the country. To use the percentages for one community as a basis for action in another community would constitute a grievous blunder. On the other hand the social worker can have no patience with the complacent superiority of the citizen who gratefully accepts the unfavorable facts as discovered for some other locality, but stoutly denies the possibility of similar conditions in his own community.

Again some of the statistical material is unsatisfactory because adequate standards have not yet been developed or insufficient stress has been placed on the difference between major and minor facts. Subjects such as malnutrition and the growth of children need much additional study.

The number of defective children in the United States also lends itself to statistical manipulation. Usually nothing is said about the proportion who can easily be cured. For instance, a large percentage of these children have defective teeth; and a dentist and an hour's time can easily reclassify a child. The amount of child labor, the prevalence of tuberculosis among children, preventable infant mortality, and other problems suffer in a similar manner. Our program of reform must depend on the collection and use of correct information; otherwise it is impossible to correlate properly the work of preventive agencies.

4. The Social Obligations to Childhood.

Nowhere in history does it appear that so many rights were accorded to childhood as is the case to-day. Men have been accustomed to concern themselves with the present, taking but little thought for the morrow. They have scarcely considered

the influence of present-day conditions on the society of the future. As thought for the morrow increases, society becomes more unselfish and begins to build for the interests of the coming generations, but this frequently involves a costly subordination of immediate interests. The future well-being of the race often means the sacrifice of present pleasures. Carried out consistently, a policy of social betterment results in the development of certain obligations to childhood. Some of these are not yet fully recognized by society, but more and more they are receiving the sanction of our present civilization. Without such sanction we cannot hope for successful social reform.

a. The Preservation of Life.

The first claim which the child makes upon society is the right to proper care while a helpless babe, so that he may retain the independent life given to him at birth. He was not consulted about the desirability of coming into existence, and had no power to will or forbid this event. It is a serious thing to bring a child into the world, and the individuals responsible for his birth have thereby incurred new responsibilities and obligations. The child has a right to a fair chance for life. If parents are delinquent in furnishing their children with this opportunity, it is the clear duty of the state to interfere in behalf of defrauded childhood. Earth holds no greater tragedy than the ruthless destruction of a sturdy human life not even conscious of its own existence and without knowledge of its capacity and opportunities. The duty of society to the child must be gradually extended because neglect of child life means a relatively greater loss and cost as civilization advances and becomes more complex. Society should determine what class of children shall be allowed to come into existence, but, once born, all normal children have the absolute right to be saved from all forms of preventable death.

The right to life is indicated in the penalty for the premeditated destruction of fœtal life. In spite of this, hundreds of abortions are performed every year by physicians on whom

moral obligations rest but lightly. Primitive society did not respect life, and many tribes even claimed the right to sacrifice all children who were not desired. Infanticide has been a common practice among nearly all savage peoples and was not unknown among semi-civilized tribes. The Africa and Asia of to-day still furnish numerous examples of this practice. Not only has it been customary to slay the weak, crippled, and defective, but the life of all, especially that of female children, depended upon the caprice of the parents. Fortunately, civilized nations with higher ideals have controlling power among these barbarous peoples, and the crime of infanticide has been almost abolished.

b. The Preservation of Health.

Next to the duty of preserving life comes that of maintaining health. Nothing prevents future industrial and social efficiency so much as does the absence of health. Without health, education and training are almost impossible, and the physical and mental faculties are permanently impaired. Boys need to be given the opportunity to grow up into robust men. For girls physical training and muscular exercise are even more necessary, especially since the tendency of civilization has been to retard that symmetrical development which our future mothers need. The keen competition of to-day and the new demands of social and industrial life are so important that we must demand for the growing child that he be physically prepared to meet the exigencies of the new era. Otherwise he will soon join the ranks of the great and constantly increasing army of the unfit and the unemployable. A changing social attitude toward the problem of the child's health is a natural consequence of this danger. The recent movement in favor of medical inspection of school children is a case in point. Society must care for the diseased and disabled. But much more important is the task of repairing the minor defects of our children so that the age of incapacity may be definitely postponed. Such a program demands an extension of public authority which may at present appear

almost entirely unwarranted, but the course of civilization is always carrying us in this direction.

The right to prohibit child labor is in part based upon the physical injury which such work entails. The danger emanates from two sources—the pernicious influence of factory life upon the immature and undeveloped body, and the inability of this plastic and growing body to withstand continued manual labor. That the child must not be compelled or allowed to sacrifice his health for the mere pittance which he earns is now generally accepted; although not more than seventy-five years ago, reputable economists opposed interference by the state in behalf of the little children who were enslaved in the factories, mines, and workshops of England. To-day all this is changed, and child labor legislation is supported by economist and sociologist alike.

c. The Opportunity to Play.

All animals play. Play is likewise one of the fundamental instincts of the child. It carries with it immeasurable benefits, but the exact results still remain uncertain. It is unquestionable, however, that play promotes the physical and mental development of the child and that it is no mean factor in his social and moral elevation. In fact, the social value of play furnishes one of the best reasons for the furtherance of the playground movement. Likewise the democratic impulses which well regulated play fosters are urgently needed to-day; consequently the opportunities for wholesome play must be greatly extended.

The ancient attitude toward play was that of toleration of the ebullient spirits of the growing boy. It was a rampant impulse which could not be checked, so parents submitted from necessity. The utilitarian function of play was unthought of. The physical weakness of the child and his incapacity for concentrated thought and endeavor saved to him the enjoyment of play until his parents could use his services in some gainful occupation. Work was substituted for play as soon as the most limited degree of success offered some justification for

such action. Play—the most enjoyable right of childhood—was almost forbidden, and even at the present day its value is minimized by many who do not recognize its varied functions. Disregarding the different theories of the origin of play, either in animals or in man, the present social values of play cannot be denied. Play involves freedom from work and adequate leisure from the duties of the schoolroom. Nor can it be socially successful without sufficient space or playground facilities. Consequently a new duty of society has arisen—that of providing the child with ample field for the enjoyment of the opportunity to play.

d. Freedom from Toil.

The prevention of premature toil is one of the first obligations to childhood. Children should be relieved from the task of earning money either for their own support or to increase the family income. Employment of children under a certain age in factories, mills, workshops, mercantile establishments, and in the street trades inflicts irremediable consequences. Among the principal results of such premature child labor are: the danger to health and physical development; the handicap in the acquisition of a trade; the mental retardation involved; the real loss of opportunity for self-development; the bar to future social and industrial efficiency; the incentive to criminality and the consequent moral degradation. The question of child labor is therefore fraught with deep meaning for future generations and has become an important social problem.

The enlightened view of to-day refuses to regard the child as a mere commercial asset of the parents. On the contrary, the relation of the two is exactly reversed. Until children reach a certain age it is absolutely necessary that they be supported by their parents, and society must enforce this obligation. Furthermore, it is the duty of parents to provide education, training, and if possible a wholesome environment. In the enlightened civilization of our present industrial age the child must not be considered as interest-bearing capital. The right of society to restrict labor in factories and establishments of

all kinds, while now generally recognized, does not include the right to restrain parents from exploiting their children in other ways for private ends. Until the community recognizes the social interests involved, private agencies must work to save children and must labor for the adoption of higher community standards.

Freedom from work does not legitimize idleness. The idle child soon becomes the victim of wayward impulses, or of incorrigible companions, and rapidly degenerates. The evils of idleness are perhaps more serious than those of work, but this fact in no way justifies premature child labor. Many opponents of child labor reforms base their arguments on the evils of idleness. This attitude is utterly unwholesome and unscientific, in that it implies that child labor is the only alternative for child idleness. The substitutes for idleness are education and properly directed recreation. Youth is the period of training when preparation for the duties of life is being made, and while society must demand rigid requirements of the growing child, these requirements should be entirely consistent with his general welfare. The adjustment of the individual in his industrial and social relations is so delicate that nothing can be overlooked to make that adjustment perfect. The more difficult the individual's life-work, the greater the need of previous training.

e. Education of Children.

The educational advantages which society must grant to the child are at least threefold; literary and industrial training, moral education, and a knowledge of the elements of sex physiology. Without coördinate education along all of these important lines, many social ills will remain to retard the progress of mankind. In the complex social life of to-day, education has assumed a startling importance. Until recently, illiterate men have been able to advance rapidly and even to acquire large fortunes. This is no longer possible, and without training few men can hope to succeed. A large percentage of our recent immigrants are illiterate; but illiteracy abroad,

owing to relatively simple conditions, does not constitute the handicap that it does in the United States. The injury resulting from ignorance is not confined to the individual affected, but an entire group may suffer because of the ignorance of one of its members. The community therefore is justified in interfering and demanding compulsory education.

The training required must meet the direct occupational need of the child. Otherwise it is only a halfway measure, and society has not fully discharged its obligations. Machine production and the consequent extensive division of labor necessitate some preparation for trade life. The growing problem of unemployment cannot be solved unless more attention is paid to the untrained child. Low wages, poverty, unemployment, and shameful conditions of living are partly due to defective education. Society must furnish the individual with the initial equipment necessary for a life of usefulness and profit. But training for industrial efficiency must not displace literary training. In fact, education gives the child a symmetrical development. He must be equipped for work, but, more than that, for service as a man and a citizen.

Recent developments also demand a revision of the methods pursued in providing our youth with a moral education. The child is the unshaped marble out of which is hewn the virtuous man or the criminal. Shall no one superintend the sculptor's work? The results of improper and insufficient moral training are already too evident. The methods of church and Sunday school must be made more efficient. The public schools likewise cannot afford to neglect the problem. Furthermore, the American home has become somewhat indifferent to the moral welfare of children. By providing effective moral training for the child, society can prevent much juvenile delinquency, and can arm children against the temptations of a vicious environment. Moral training must have a prominent place in a program of child welfare.

A form of education which is now demanding increased attention is proper education along the lines of sex physiology.

So direful have been the consequences, especially to the female sex, of the absence of needed knowledge, that thinking people are justly demanding reform. The adolescent youth of to-day should be protected from the bitter results of a system which depends upon the ignorance and mistaken ideals of parents and upon the failure of the schools to appreciate the problem. The growing thoughtlessness and perhaps immorality of girls also presents a grave question. The physical welfare of society, the happiness of the home, and the social emancipation of woman depend in large part upon sufficient rational and timely instruction in physical hygiene. This must, however, be deeply tinctured with the development of high moral standards; otherwise the knowledge acquired will not gain the end in view. Nor can we wait until the young mind is blackened by the evil teaching of the vicious.

f. Care of Dependent Children.

The duty of society to care for the dependent and neglected child admits of no controversy. Such children are not responsible for their misfortunes, and society is pledged to grant them opportunities for a useful life. Every child has a right to a home, and should have the opportunity to enjoy a parent's care and fondness, since the home gives to childhood a service which no other agency can supply. The child without a good home suffers an enormous handicap. What hope remains for children whose constant environment lacks the guidance of a kind and dutiful parent? Special efforts are necessary to give justice to the unfortunates.

g. The Right to Normal Life.

Perhaps the various obligations to childhood can all be summarized under the heading "The Right to Normal Life." During the World War the federal government practically recognized the right of a family to a decent living wage. The enforcement of such a right would assure reasonable opportunities for every child. If the wage is insufficient, the child must suffer, and the money necessary to meet its various needs must be spent in part for other purposes. Ogburn stated in 1919

that the cost of providing food and clothing for a child from birth up to sixteen years was $2,275, but the actual additional expenditure to a family due to the presence of the child was only $1,325 or 58 per cent of the cost. The standard of normal living very clearly then has not yet been attained. Price levels may change the foregoing figures, but the proportions are likely to remain fairly constant until the ideal of normal life becomes an actuality. Fortunately the immediate future promises excellent results in this direction.

5. The Right to a Sound Heredity.

Occasional writers say the child has a right to be well-born. The author does not believe that such a right has been established. Public opinion favors the reduction of infant mortality to the lowest practicable point, it demands health improvement, the elimination of child labor and other opportunities for children; but it does not positively demand even such reasonable control of human inheritance as will reduce the proportion of inferior human beings, either from the standpoint of mental or physical deficiency. The right to be well-born is a goal that society must eventually achieve for its children, but public sentiment to-day does not accept this principle. In fact a large element of the population still believes that society has no right to interfere with the mating instinct even though the inevitable consequences in many cases will be the birth of inferior or defective children. Evidences of this fact are the reluctance of states to pass sterilization laws, the tendency of courts to declare such laws unconstitutional, the tardy enactment of laws prohibiting the marriage of the socially diseased and the non-enforcement of such laws in most of the thirteen states which have taken this legislative step. At best the so-called right to be well-born is merely a hope, but some day it may be realized.

PART I

THE CONSERVATION OF LIFE

CHAPTER I

BIRTHS AND BIRTH RATES

In discussing the vital problem of child life it seems most convenient to begin with births and birth rates; for, although high or low birth rates do not necessarily imply high or low death rates, they definitely limit our infant mortality. The actual relation between the two, however, is of extreme importance, because upon it depends the aggregate of surplus population.

1. Historical Data.

Little is known of the fecundity of the white race in ancient times. Vital statistics belong entirely to modern history, and even now our records are so incomplete that full information cannot be had. However, hints by ancient writers and knowledge of conditions among primitive peoples of to-day give rise to some observations which are not entirely conjectural. That birth rates were high in the infancy of human society is not certain, but on the contrary the works of many students of primitive people indicate that a comparatively low death rate prevailed among the savage races. Some of the causes are also known; among them a long period of suckling. Babies were often allowed to nurse for two or three years; nor is this method of prevention confined to primitive peoples, since even now it is employed in Europe and the United States. A second cause was licentiousness, which frequently induced sterility. Infertility was without doubt an additional cause, and there is evidence that preventive methods were used directly. The coöperation of these causes frequently limited fecundity to three or four children per marriage, while the large family of nine or ten children was comparatively rare.

Exorbitant birth rates belong to a later period. The dense hives of people in India and China are there to-day because of an enormous birth rate, which annually adds millions of babies to the population. A large number of these die in infancy; some suffer from disease; others, because of overpopulation, are the victims of infanticide.

During the Middle Ages Europe was stationary in population. The enormous death rate counteracted the effects of a multitude of births; otherwise the population would have grown amazingly. The age of marriage was low, and as late as the first half of the nineteenth century a large proportion of the girls were married before their eighteenth year. The decline of the domestic system with its long apprenticeships, together with the advent of the industrial revolution, retarded the movement toward later marriages. High birth rates were the natural consequence; many wives died prematurely, while husbands married twice or oftener, and huge families were common. The average family of Franklin's day is the exceptional family of the present time.

2. Decline in Birth Rates.

The general decline in birth rates began during the last half of the nineteenth century. In France, however, the movement began about 1800. It reached England next, and other countries have followed one by one until nearly every country in Western Europe has witnessed a considerable decline. The following table attempts to present some figures relative to the changes that have occurred in a number of countries within a comparatively short space of time.[1]

It appears that Northwest Europe furnishes quite a contrast to South and East Europe, the highest rates remaining in Russia, Austria, Hungary, and the Balkan States. Here the birth rates continue almost unchanged, and methods of restriction are not in vogue; likewise the decline has been less rapid in Catholic than in Protestant countries. In New Zea-

[1] Mulhall, Dictionary of Statistics.
U. S. Bureau of Census. Birth Statistics, 1921.

land and Australia a remarkable decline in birth rate has occurred.

CRUDE BIRTH RATES PER 1000 OF POPULATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	1841–1850	1871–1880	1891–1900	1901–1905	1920
Austria	37.6	39.0	37.1	31.4	31.3
England and Wales	32.6	35.4	30.0	28.1	22.0
France	27.2	25.4	22.1	21.3	21.3
Germany	36.1	39.1	36.1	34.8	27.5
Sweden	31.1	30.5	27.1	26.1	21.6
Ireland	...	26.5	23.0	23.2	22.1
Hungary	...	...	40.6	37.2	36.3
Russia in Europe	...	...	49.2	...	44.0
Italy	...	36.9	34.9	32.4	31.1
Bulgaria	...	...	...	40.9	40.2
New Zealand	...	40.7	26.7	26.6	25.3
Roumania	...	...	...	...	42.5

The last column of the table shows rather remarkable recuperative powers on the part of the nations recently emerging from a deadly world war. Birth rates are practically restored to a normal level and the population is again rapidly increasing in numbers. The decline in birth rates is apparently much more marked in the cities than in the rural districts. Such cities as London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Liverpool stand much below the average for their respective countries. To a large extent this fact is due to the more rapid progress of restrictive methods in the urban communities.

A few American states have collected birth statistics for fifty years or more, but our people have been slow in realizing the social value of such data. Until recently the figures gathered have not been accurate and the apparently uniform birth rate in such states as Massachusetts and Michigan is partly due to more nearly complete records in later years. The estimated birth rate in the United States in 1910 was 27 per 1000 of the population, but better figures are now obtainable from our large and increasing birth registration area. The following table gives statistics for typical states for the year 1921, and contrasts urban with rural rates as well.

BIRTH RATES PER 1000 POPULATION
(1921)

STATES	TOTAL	CITIES IN STATE	RURAL PART OF STATE
Registration Area	24.3	24.0	24.7
California	20.2	20.1	20.2
Indiana	23.0	23.2	21.9
Massachusetts	23.5	24.5	18.8
New York	22.7	23.4	20.0
North Carolina	33.8	29.3	34.5
Utah	31.6	29.2	33.0
Wisconsin	23.0	23.9	22.5

Normally the rural rates are lower than the urban, a fact due chiefly to the large immigrant population in the cities. Furthermore the general rate is highest in the South and lowest in the Far West except in Utah where the influence of Mormonism is clearly felt. The rates in Southern cities also are falling more rapidly than in the rural sections. Here the native population still maintains a high degree of fecundity and affords a strong contrast to that of the northern cities. In most communities the negro birth rate is somewhat in excess of the white, but the death rate is also higher and the net gain is usually smaller.

A high birth rate has not shown itself necessary for the realization of the dream of those statesmen who believe that national strength lies in a large aggregate of population. The increase in numbers depends on the difference between the birth and the death rates, or the annual surplus of births, but countries with the highest birth rates do not necessarily enjoy the largest ratio of survivals. Frequently the converse is true, and countries having high birth rates suffer from enormous death rates, and especially from a heavy infant mortality. Until recently the relative gain in East Europe, in spite of the high birth rate, was less than that in West Europe, where the birth rate was nearly one-third less. More important than the number of births is the reduction of the mortality. The menace begins only when the birth rate has

fallen below the death rate and a stationary or declining population is threatened.

3. Costs of Motherhood.

The subject of births cannot be discussed without reference to the physical cost that is involved. The burden of motherhood is not lightly borne. The civilization of to-day has in fact aggravated the pain and suffering of parturition. Comparatively easy confinements are the rule among primitive people as well as among the European peasants, but the unnatural life of modern civilization has induced a physiological condition which makes labor difficult. One of the current problems is the task of relieving childbirth of its acquired terrors.

Among animals reproduction is the Alpha and Omega of individual life, and everything is subordinated to the life of the species. Among men, conditions are different. To perpetuate the race is not the sole task of our species, and the rights, no less than the duties, of women must receive consideration. On the other hand, the duty of motherhood must not be evaded, and will remain for all time. The necessary hardships involved must be borne as all pain and suffering are borne. Nowhere are men or women free from physical pain. However, fecundity is less important than intelligent motherhood; and the brutal birth rates of the past have not made society more efficient. The mother of many children has only stood more often by the open grave. A reasonable birth rate has decided advantages, because the mother concentrating her thought on a few healthy children is charged with power to promote their future welfare; but if her energy is dissipated among a company of short-lived and unwanted children, the social consequences cannot be hopeful.

A reasonable increase in population is a goal of all thinkers on social subjects, and the small families that threaten the extinction of the race cannot be condoned. The average family must not only be large enough to replace its parents but must cover the losses resulting from deaths, celibacy, and

infertility. This would result in the maintenance of a stationary population. An actual increase will require a somewhat larger number of children per family; and a reasonable birth rate should meet this condition. On the other hand, the imprudent, inconsiderate, and machine-like regularity of increase as effected among certain classes of people finds no rational justification to-day.

4. Fecundity of Women.

The actual number of children born to individual families throws light on the fecundity of a population. Especially is this true if the proportions of single persons in the communities contrasted are approximately the same. A study of the number of births per married woman is, however, of no uncertain value, and the recent investigations of the Immigration Commission established by Congress are very significant. They covered Rhode Island, the cities of Cleveland and Minneapolis, and parts of rural Ohio and rural Minnesota. The figures, based on the census of 1900, are summarized in the following table:

NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER FAMILY AMONG WOMEN UNDER 45, MARRIED 10–19 YEARS[1]

NATIONALITY	TOTAL AREA	RHODE ISLAND	CLEVELAND	MINNEAPOLIS	RURAL OHIO	RURAL MINNESOTA
All classes	4.1	3.8	4.0	3.5	4.0	5.0
Native whites of native parents	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.4	3.4	3.4
Whites of foreign parents	4.4	4.5	4.3	3.8	4.5	5.2
First generation	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.0	4.6	5.5
Second generation	3.9	3.9	3.3	3.4	3.8	4.7
Polish, first generation	6.2	*	6.1	5.4	5.6	6.9
Canadian French, first generation	5.8	5.9	*	4.8	*	6.1
Russian, first generation	5.5	*	5.5	5.1	5.4	5.9
Italian, first generation	4.8	5.0	4.7	*	4.5	*
German, first generation	4.9	3.9	4.7	4.0	4.7	5.6
English, first generation	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.2
Swedish, first generation	4.3	3.9	3.7	4.0	4.3	5.1

* Number insufficient to establish proportions.

[1] Report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 2, p. 497. The above table is not complete, but is representative of conditions, a limited number of nationalities being included for purposes of illustration.

Considering all classes, it appears that the number of births per marriage was 4.1. The number among whites of native extraction was only 2.7. The whites of foreign parentage were divided into two groups—immigrants, and native-born of foreign parents. In each of the five areas studied the fecundity of immigrants exceeded that of the second generation—a fact which was also true of almost all nationalities studied. The contacts and conditions of American civilization clearly reduce the average number of children born per marriage.

In Rhode Island, which is largely urban, we find a sharp contrast between the fecundity of women of native and of foreign extraction—a difference of two births per marriage, with the highest figures reported for Italians and Poles. The facts for the city of Cleveland are very similar. There the number of births for all classes was 4, and for women of native extraction 2.4. The largest average number of births per marriage was found among the Poles—6.1, with the amazing regularity of a birth every 2.3 years, which is 2½ times the rate among the American women. The French Canadians stood second, and the Italians third.

The study of the rural districts adduced some interesting information. In rural Ohio and rural Minnesota the average married woman of native parentage bore 3.4 children, exactly one more than her Cleveland and Minneapolis sisters. Strangely enough, the fecundity in the rural sections of these states seems very similar, and the two cities likewise closely resemble each other. In rural Ohio a birth among the women of native extraction occurred every 4.1 years. It seems therefore that the native birth-rate in the rural districts is not only much higher than that in the cities, but is also sufficient to maintain the population and even increase it slightly, since the infant mortality in country localities is low. Little difference in the rates of country and towns was discovered for the foreign born; nearly everywhere they are more prolific than the Americans.

The summary for the entire area investigated indicates the

fecundity per marriage as follows: Poles, 6.2; French Canadian, 5.8; Russian, 5.5; German, 4.9; Swedish, 4.3; English, 3.7; American, 2.7; all classes, 4.1. For good or for ill the native blood in the cities is being gradually displaced with stock that is essentially foreign.

In the country districts according to this investigation the native stock was still holding its own. The later birth statistics also corroborate this conclusion. In 1920, 54 per cent of the children born in the registration cities of the United States had both parents native, whereas in the rural districts the proportion was 81 per cent. In the South these differences are still further accentuated.

Recent but rather indefinite facts in reference to size of family are also obtainable from the birth statistics annually compiled by the Bureau of the Census. The following table relates to those mothers to whom a child was born during the year 1920:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO MOTHERS OF 1920[1]

STATES	TOTAL	NATIVE-BORN MOTHERS	FOREIGN-BORN MOTHERS						COLORED
			TOTAL	Hungary	Ireland	Italy	Poland	Germany	
Reg. area	3.3	3.0	4.0	4.2	3.4	4.5	4.5	4.4	3.6
California	2.7	2.4	3.5	3.3	3.0	3.7	3.1	3.1	2.8
Minnesota	3.3	3.0	4.5	5.1	3.6	4.8	4.9	5.5	3.8
New York	3.1	2.6	3.6	3.2	3.3	4.5	4.1	3.5	2.8
North Carolina	3.8	3.8	3.3	6.0	3.4	4.9	3.3	2.7	4.0
Pennsylvania	3.5	3.1	4.6	4.8	3.7	4.9	4.8	4.9	3.3
South Carolina	3.7	3.6	3.3	2.0	2.5	4.6	2.3	3.8	3.8
Utah	3.5	3.4	4.3	4.9	3.9	4.3	7.5	4.6	2.7
Wisconsin	3.3	3.1	4.6	4.0	3.6	4.3	5.4	5.1	3.3

These figures although they do not inform us as to the number of births per American family, give us the fecundity of those families to whom an addition was made during the year given. The childless and completed families, of course, do not count in these estimates, but many of the current cases

[1] Bureau of the Census. Birth Statistics for 1920.

are incomplete families and, therefore, the average of all of these when completed should be somewhat above the figures given. The sterile couples will reduce this average for the entire population.

Our expectations are partially realized in the figures showing that the foreign-born mothers have averaged one more birth than the native born. South European as well as German mothers show an additional excess. The various states differ considerably from each other; California and North Carolina representing the extremes. Relatively large families still prevail among the Southern whites; nevertheless they are easily outnumbered by the immigrant families in the North and West. The negroes slightly exceed the average, but not in all parts of the country.

This problem has also been approached from another angle, an analysis having been made of the distribution of the children in the order of their birth; for example only 290 out of 1000 were first births. Total births represented 3.44 times first births. This classification reveals in most definite fashion the high fecundity of the foreign born. Among the Poles there were 9 times as many births as first births; among the Hungarians 6.9; among the Italians 6.3, but among the native white only 3 times as many. However, the effects of the war and the low tide of immigration were partly responsible for this abnormal situation. That huge families occur among these groups is clearly apparent; for even the ninth and tenth child makes a frequent appearance and occasionally others of still later order.

The majority of children are born before the mother is 35 years of age as is evidenced by the fact that the average number of births for mothers from 35 to 39 years was 5.9 or 79 per cent higher than the average for all mothers.

The relation of size of family to occupation reveals rather limited information. The largest average number of births was discovered among the families of foremen, overseers and inspectors in the mining industry, and in transportation.

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Furthermore the rate was relatively high among miners, foundry workers and quarry operatives and among relatively inferior occupations such as guard, watchman, janitor and doorkeeper. The professional groups averaged less than 2.5 per family.

These general statistics partly reveal the race suicide found among the educated and the wealthy classes of to-day. It is claimed that in England one-seventh of the population becomes the parents of one-half of the next generation.

Similar tendencies have developed in this country as is proved from the studies showing that recent graduates of Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Vassar, and other women's colleges have so few children that their stock is rapidly dying out. The record of men's institutions is very little better. The college-bred do not maintain themselves.

There is also a large group of wealthy but socially impecunious wives living in boarding-houses and furnished apartments that spurn motherhood or fail to contribute the normal family to society. Fortunately the general quality both of our middle and our poorer classes makes pessimism unnecessary, although it does not relieve the more fortunate of their obligations.

5. Sterility.

The problem of sterility is rapidly gaining in importance. Society is directly interested because birth rates are retarded, while individuals mourn their loss. Some facts representing the conditions in the area investigated by the Immigration Commission are shown in the table on page 31.

Most startling differences occur among the various groups. More than one-eighth of the American women are sterile, but rates in the city are much higher than in the country. In Rhode Island we find 17.5 per cent, in rural Minnesota only 5.1 per cent. The rates among women of foreign parentage are lower in every instance, and among the more prolific immigrant groups are almost negligible,—among Russians, Poles, and Bohemians not over 2.6 per cent, or one woman out of 40.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN UNDER 45, MARRIED 10 TO 19 YEARS, HAVING HAD NO CHILDREN [1]

NATIONALITY	TOTAL AREA	RHODE ISLAND	CLEVELAND	MINNEAPOLIS	RURAL OHIO	RURAL MINNESOTA
All classes	7.4	11.3	8.1	8.5	5.2	3.0
Native whites of native parents	13.1	17.5	15.2	12.7	5.7	5.1
White of foreign parents	5.7	8.0	6.3	6.9	5.1	2.7
Women of foreign birth:						
Bohemian	2.4	*	2.4	0.	6.4	2.4
German	3.9	9.5	4.7	5.4	3.8	1.8
Italian	4.9	5.1	4.9	*	4.5	*
Polish	2.6	*	2.3	9.7	2.8	1.7
Scotch	8.9	8.9	11.4	11.1	5.3	6.8
Russian	2.5	*	2.3	3.5	2.5	1.8
Irish	7.4	7.6	8.6	5.9	5.0	7.2

* Number insufficient to establish proportions.

As sterility is socially undesirable, its causes need urgent study, and if possible should be removed. Although no data are available, many physicians claim that a large proportion of it is due to the prevalence of those social diseases which induce sterility in women. If this is the primary cause, then men in the rural districts are more moral and are freer from disease than men in the cities; this the author firmly believes to be the case. It also indicates that a high degree of morality exists among our recent immigrant classes. On the other hand, disease of various kinds has rendered many women sterile. Immorality cannot be blamed for this. Some sterility also exists among men, and without doubt a small but increasing proportion of women deliberately refuse to bear children. This percentage is larger among the American than among the immigrant groups.

Immorality is baneful, not so much in preventing all births as in rendering women sterile when one birth has occurred. It is a fruitful case of one-child marriages, and even among Americans, where at least two children are desired in a family, frequently the second child is never born. Moreover, the pangs of childbirth once experienced deter American women more

[1] Report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 2, p. 495.

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than immigrant mothers who, on the whole, have easier confinements and also believe that conscious restriction is unethical. The comparative importance of the different causes of sterility is unknown, but it is plain that strenuous efforts are needed to save women from the ravages and disasters of the social diseases. Men alone can accomplish this end by keeping their minds clean and their lives pure.

6. Still-births.

Our vital statistics have imprudently neglected the still-births. These are included neither under births nor deaths, so that frequently no count whatever is made of their number. In considering the problem of the potential life of a community, however, the number and proportion of still-births must be calculated, since fecundity is not correctly measured by living births, but by the sum of still and living births. In American cities about 4 per cent of all babies are born dead, which means about one still-birth annually for every 1000 of the population—certainly an item of considerable importance. Widespread knowledge in regard to the causes is necessary, and the public must know of the menacing effects of alcohol, social disease, and overwork, for most still-births could be avoided. The development of efficient methods of prenatal care, as will be shown later, will go far toward adding this group of cases to the living births and thereby contributing to our potential population.

7. Causes of Declining Birth Rates.

The desirability of comparatively low birth rates is being recognized; nevertheless rates in France and among some native American classes are too low to be socially justified. The causes of this condition may, however, be partly subject to treatment and removal. To begin with, it is probable that the proportion of couples deliberately remaining childless is small, but it is true that a large percentage of the boarding-house population refuses to rear children.

Natural causes play a prominent part in reducing the birth rate. The rising age of marriage deducts several years from

the productive period of life; and American women marry at an average age of 25 years, whereas it was formerly customary to marry before 21. This alone accounts for a reduction of at least one child per family. As present economic conditions do not favor a return to earlier marriages this cause is likely to become comparatively permanent.

The voluntary avoidance of large families is probably the principal cause of the decline in birth rates; and since among native American women especially, the ethics of restriction are justified, the birth rate is definitely controlled. As a causative force the cost of living is a decided factor, for with the constant raising of standards, men with large families cannot afford the coveted plane of living. Young couples frequently find that a child would handicap them financially and socially, so they avoid family obligations until they believe themselves ready. Any such delay necessarily results in a lower birth rate.

Among the well-to-do the love of ease and of pleasure is a more important factor than visions of a high standard of living. Many women prefer cats and dogs to babies, and do not wish to be handicapped in their daily routine of social duties by babies that need attention. They are not willing to sacrifice either time or energy for the most important race duty, but live selfishly, trying to glean sheaves of enjoyment in the field of artificial pleasures. This group, because of its financial capacity for properly rearing a family, needs more than any other to develop a consciousness of its moral obligation to the race and of its overbearing and undermining selfishness.

A considerable proportion of men and women do not marry, and consequently do not become parents. In 1920 88.6 per cent of the women from 35 to 44 years of age were married, widowed, or divorced,—figures which indicate that 11.4 per cent, of child-bearing age, were still single. Probably but few of these marry, so that, having escaped responsibility of child-bearing, they throw a greater burden on the remainder. From the sociological point of view all women who are phys-

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ically and mentally fit should marry and have a part in the perpetuation of the race.

Natural and artificial causes are both contributing to a decline in our birth rates, but in so far as they do not deplete our population, they do not offer a serious problem. Opposition to a judicious limitation of size of family is reactionary and unsocial. Infertility and undue restrictions, however, furnish several problems which must be fearlessly attacked and solved. Among the necessary reforms are:

The reduction of sterility, whether due to conscious action or disease.

The elimination of still-births, through the development of proper prenatal care, through protection from disease, and through the removal of other causes.

An increase in the marriage rate and a reduction in the number of marriageable celibate men and women. This reform involves considerable change in economic conditions and will be difficult to achieve.

8. Registration of Births.

The American states have been slow in providing for an adequate system of birth registration. The U. S. Bureau of the Census recognizes a "birth registration area," but those states only are admitted to this area which reach a certain percentage of accuracy in birth registration. In 1911 the New England states, Pennsylvania and Michigan were the only states that qualified, but the area has grown rapidly since then, and in 1921 it included 27 states with a population of seventy million or about 66 per cent of that of the entire United States. Many cities in non-registration states also have fairly accurate birth registration. Furthermore, several additional states have laws requiring birth registration, but have not as yet obtained a satisfactory degree of law enforcement. The Federal Children's Bureau has consistently labored to develop sentiment in favor of better birth records, and has shown their importance in connection with many later developments in the life of the child, knowledge of the exact age

being necessary to settle questions of education, child and adult labor, acquisition of property, inheritance, marriage, delinquency and citizenship. The computation of infant mortality also depends for exactness upon complete birth registration.

A standard birth certificate includes the following information: in respect to child: date of birth, place of birth, name, sex, legitimacy, whether born at full term, whether plural birth or not, number of child of this mother; in respect to parents: names, ages, address, nationality or race, birthplace and occupation; other information, number of children now living, whether birth was attended by physician, midwife or other person. In some states the birth certificate also contains a question relating to the use of a prophylactic to safeguard the baby's eyes against ophthalmia. Procedure varies in the case of an illegitimate child. Some states prohibit the recording of any information concerning the father unless a judicial determination of his paternity has been made.

European countries are far ahead of the United States in their development of birth registration. In this country the value of such records has not been adequately appreciated and our individualism has prevented coöperation to obtain either the laws or their enforcement. Even now there are too many physicians who are not socially minded and too many ignorant midwives and many thoughtless or refractory parents, and many inefficient boards or departments of health or vital statistics; and as a consequence nearly one-third of our population is not yet included in the birth registration area.

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CHAPTER II

THE WASTE OF LIFE

1. The Waste of Life.

The law of natural selection has been a tremendous factor in fixing the physiological traits of human kind. From the beginning of human life up to the present time it has been ceaseless in its operation, but has diminished in intensity with the gradually increasing control by man of the natural environment. The waste which natural selection incurs among animal life is stupendous. But for the rigorous processes and destructiveness of nature, even the most slowly reproducing animals would soon overstock the earth. The early life of man is a constant story of struggle and contest, and the primitive races have always suffered from an enormous waste of lives. Every advance in civilization means a saving of human life and a more economical use of nature's bounties. Civilization implies an increasing use of all our mental and physical powers and the most efficient utilization of the many forces of nature. The more primitive a society, the more absolute is its subjection to the conditions of environment and the more helpless are its members in the face of disease and death.

Probably in no other field of human activity has man's ignorance been more lamentable in its consequences than in that of rearing children—the future parents of the race. Even the slow increase of savage tribes is purchased at a tremendous expenditure of energy, and the number of infants and little children whose physical and economic cost has never been compensated for by useful and productive lives has been appalling. Although decreasing costs of progress characterize

an advancing civilization, nations have but recently begun to realize the costs involved in the loss of infant and child lives.[1]

The sacredness of human life is no longer a mere principle. It is a rule of action and has found expression in the voluntary efforts made to reduce the death rates. Happily the history of recent centuries demonstrates the possibility of tremendous progress, and the gradual decrease in mortality indicates that medical and sanitary science has been slowly gaining ground. Mortality rates both for infants and adults depend upon many complex considerations, and society has been learning the social, economic, and physiological factors which determine the fluctuations, gains, and losses. The economic conditions, the social environment, the moral and intellectual standards, and the advance in medical science of any community are especially reflected in the vitality of its children. In fact, the infant and child mortality of a people is a barometer of their social progress.

The problem of infant mortality formerly received but little attention apart from occasional references to the subject by physicians. When birth rates were high, the social consequences of a large annual loss of life were hardly apparent, and the matter received but little consideration. Besides, economic necessity pressed men down and prevented them from attempting reforms. In recent years, because life has become a more precious possession, the individual has gained in value, and moral obligations now compel us to save life whenever possible.

Infants naturally reap their share of the advantages that have followed the greater consideration of human life. In fact, the history of infant mortality indicates that special attention has been given to the children.

2. Decline in the Death Rates of Children.

Whatever be the present waste of child life we must not overlook the progress of the last two centuries. Historically

[1] As used in this book "infant" refers to a child under one year of age.

speaking, the gain has been almost immeasurable. Two hundred years ago a large majority of the children born in London perished before they reached the fifth year of life, but to-day the proportion is less than one-fifth. Yet the beginnings of national life throughout Europe were everywhere accompanied by a similar waste of child life. Therefore the population of nearly every European country remained almost stationary for decades and rose but slowly until about 1750. The infant mortality of London was little higher than that of other English cities, and all England, as well as the continent, lived beneath the pall of the blighting destroyer of little children. As late as 1761, 50 per cent of the English population died before reaching the age of 20. The enormous gain of to-day is not appreciated until one realizes that at present one-half of the people of England live until the fifty-fourth year has been reached. It is not surprising to learn that in Prussia during the decade 1751-1760 nearly seven-tenths of the children failed to reach the age of ten.[1] Practically three-fourths of the entire population died before they were able to contribute to society and while they were still a cost to parents. Russia likewise gave but little attention to the moral and social conditions which result in a low infantile death rate. It has been estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century only one-third of the children of Russian peasants grew to maturity, and not more than 36 per cent of the entire population of Russia reached the age of twenty years. Not so many years ago many scientists believed that a city population left to its own reproductive powers would gradually die out, and doubtless this was at one time true. Luckily this dismal philosophy has been dissipated by the humanitarian and scientific progress of our recent civilization. Cities actually do maintain themselves and boast of a birth rate larger than their death rate. Although they draw heavily upon

[1] Roscher, William, *Political Economy*, Vol. II, p. 307. These statistics, as well as most figures for the eighteenth century and before, probably contain a considerable percentage of error.

the rural districts, they would still increase in size were they to rely entirely upon their own native vitality.

3. Historical Stages.

a. *First Period.*

Three separate stages or periods may be observed in the history of infant mortality, and each is characterized by its own distinctive features and results. The first stage began with society itself and represents the period during which ignorance and indifference were slowly succeeded by increased attention to the lot of the new-born and helpless child. Only the most patent and active causes of mortality were removed, however. During this period began the triumph of man's power over disease, but the absence of preventive medicine and the incapacity to cure disease were serious handicaps. Probably the history of the Caucasian race furnishes no more striking example of the power and havoc of scourge than that of smallpox. Formerly it was the most frightful of contagious diseases, and very few individuals—probably not more than 4 per cent of all persons reaching the age of thirty—escaped all attacks of this ever-present plague. Two-thirds of the entire infant population are said to have been attacked, and a large mortality resulted. Westergaarde tells us that in Sweden during the decade 1751-1760, 13 per cent of all deaths were due to smallpox—a proportion far in excess of that caused by the "White Plague" of to-day. During certain years the proportion in France rose to 10 per cent, while that in Liverpool has been as high as 20 per cent.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the remarkable discoveries of Jenner finally brought smallpox into subjection. A very rapid decline in the mortality from this disease immediately took place, so that deaths from smallpox have become an almost negligible factor in the records of present vital statistics. If Sweden's mortality during the decade 1751-1760 were duplicated to-day, it would mean approximately 3500 deaths annually in a city of 800,000 population, yet in St. Louis, a city of this size, not a single death from this cause

occurred in 1920. Boston, with nearly the same population, reported only one death. The pitted faces once so common are seldom seen today.

Smallpox was formerly a children's disease, simply because almost all adults had been attacked in early youth. Without quarantine facilities, and with no knowledge of preventive measures, it was absolutely impossible for children to escape exposure to the disease, but to-day the average age of persons dying from smallpox is twenty-seven years. Vaccination has proved a most remarkable boon, and has saved more lives than any other specific for disease. So insidious and contagious is smallpox, that the method of vaccination is still necessary to protect a community. Because of the practical elimination of smallpox, largely through vaccination, the average duration of life has been increased three and one-half years. The opponents of vaccination have no sound arguments to support their contentions, for the historical evidence in favor of the use of vaccine is absolutely overwhelming.

The progress made during this period is further illustrated by the decreased variations in the general death rates of London.[1] For example, in the decade 1740-1750 the rates fluctuated as much as 60 per cent from year to year, and during the following half century fluctuations of 33 1/3 per cent were common, but in the decade 1820-1830 the variations did not exceed 20 per cent. Even such a percentage would furnish occasion for alarm at the present day. In fact, a variation from the normal of 1½ deaths per 1000 of the population, that is, of about 10 per cent, would at once force a board of health to institute a searching investigation of the causes.

This period closed about 1840, by which time the infant mortality was reduced to a rate but little higher than that prevailing at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the improvements which had been made and which were largely responsible for the reduced death rates were the following: improved housing, more effective sanitation, better hygiene,

[1] Roscher, William, *Political Economy*, Vol. II, p. 308.

an increase in the general food supply, the elimination of famine, the development of safeguards against pestilence, and increased knowledge of medical science.

b. Second Period.

The second period lasted until the very recent past, and many localities still retain the characteristics of this stage. Extensive gains had been made during the former period, but nothing was as yet known about the germ. Improvements of many kinds were made, but the chief gainers were adults: for example, between 1850 and 1900 the death rate in England for children under one year of age remained practically unchanged, but the general death rate fell 18 per cent. This fact indicates either indifference to the causes of infant mortality or inability to prevent disease. The condition, however, was general; France actually showed an increase in infant death rates between 1840 and 1880, and in many German localities alarming rates still prevail. In Massachusetts the mortality of children under the age of one increased slightly between 1856 and 1895, but meanwhile the death rates of children under five slowly declined. It is probable therefore that the needs of infants were not understood, nor were the means of meeting such needs known. The peculiar susceptibility of the babe to the slightest change, either in external conditions or in the character of the food given, was not appreciated nor understood. Furthermore, infants suffered from the comparatively low valuation at which they were rated. The child generally receives a smaller per capita amount of appreciation in a large family than he does in a small one, and in this period the former was still the rule.

Perhaps the all-absorbing growth of industrialism deflected attention from many of the serious social problems of the day. The doctrine of personal liberty also had a firm hold on the people, and interference with individuals to save them from the consequences of their own ignorance was hardly justified. Laws affecting child labor and the employment of women had indeed been passed and put into operation, but no strong

sentiment supported such laws. To carry the work of education to the parents' homes was too bold a proposition, for society was not privileged to interfere. Philanthropy was busy with a remedial program, and but little attention was paid to preventive methods.

c. Third Period. Preventive Methods.

The third period, which is characterized by intensive methods of saving human life, has only recently begun. In order to make progress, old principles must be discarded and new ones accepted, it having been especially necessary to abandon the theory of *laissez faire*. Problems of human betterment must be solved in a practical manner. To recognize the social importance of the birth of a child is to recognize the duty of society to grant that child an opportunity. Following this principle every large American city has redoubled its efforts in recent years to reduce its infant mortality, medical science having provided the greatest incentive to preventive work. The rapid growth of knowledge about the microörganisms or germs that attack the human body is proving of tremendous value. The investigations and discoveries of Pasteur have done more to stimulate intensive methods of lessening infant mortality than any other factor. It has been learned that the most dangerous and destructive children's diseases can be almost entirely eliminated by recently discovered methods of attacking germ diseases. If vigorously applied, they should bring about an enormous reduction in the infant mortality of the day.

4. Economic Cost of Child Mortality.

Industrial progress has far outstripped our advance in standards of life. The utilization of material formerly wasted has been developed into a science, and in some cases the difference between profit and loss has been measurd by this saving. The continued decrease of necessary cost and labor is one of the aims of industry, and if we apply this principle to the cost of propagating the human race, we find that society has hardly begun to conserve its physical powers in economical ways.

Thousands of lives are still needlessly sacrificed because of failure to appreciate the loss. Every child born into this world represents an investment, the value of which is measured by his expectation of life at birth; and if his expectation is low, society cannot hope for a heavy gain from its outlay, since the economic advantage derived from his services will be small, and will correspond to a low rate of interest on an investment. Productive human lives are the assets of society, and the dividends of progress depend upon the sum total of years spent in useful service. The heavy economic loss resulting from a high infant mortality can be but vaguely expressed in figures of mortality or longevity. The loss of time and energy by the expectant mother is also an item of great importance. It is difficult to approximate the probable cost incurred in rearing the children who die before the age of fifteen has been reached. In most cases the child before this age is not a producer, but a consumer, and remains an economic cost to society. In addition, vast sums are expended to develop the efficiency of the children, and hundreds of dollars are lavished on them, society naturally expecting some reimbursement for its expenditure. If we pause to consider that every death of a child below the age of puberty means an absolute loss of potential capital and productive power, our imagination slowly begins to appreciate the appalling loss to society that high death rates among children involve. The older the child, the greater the cost which he has entailed, and the greater the loss in case of death. It has been estimated that among the Bontoc Igorrote of the Philippines, 60 per cent of all persons die before the age of puberty is reached. Much of their energy is spent in simply trying to maintain their present numbers.

Western civilization has suffered severely from its tardy attention to problems of health and vitality. Estimates based on records for Geneva, Switzerland, indicate that the expectation of life at birth rose from twenty-one and one-sixth years in the last half of the sixteenth century to forty and

two-thirds years in the first quarter of the nineteenth. Considered from the economic point of view, however, the productivity per equal amounts of population in the latter period is much greater than in the former. The duration of life after the fifteenth year was about six years in the sixteenth century, but twenty-five in the nineteenth. This makes the average individual of the last century of far greater economic value to his community than the individual of the earlier period. Productive human lives have been purchased at an enormous cost, and an increasing age at death represents a great social advance.

England, France, Germany, and the minor European countries all testify to the gradually increasing expectation of life of their inhabitants. The tables computed for Netherlands show a most remarkable degree of progress: for example, in the period 1811-1825 one-half of the males died before reaching the age of twenty-five, but during the decade 1860-1869 forty years represented a probable lifetime. The table by Van Pesch for 1890-1899 shows that the fifty-sixth year is now passed before one-half of the males perish, although only one-fourth were left at that age in the period 1816-1827.

The American records also indicate a constant gain. In 1900 the average expectation of life in Massachusetts was 46 years and this figure was probably typical of the United States, but in 1920 it had risen to approximately 55 years. Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has computed a life table based on death rates existing in parts of this country and claims that the expectation of life at birth can be raised to 64.75 years and at one to 66.3. According to his table 56,213 out of 100,000 would still be alive at 70. Although 20 per cent of the population die before 21, this figure could be cut to 8 or 10 per cent. At least 90 per cent should reach the age of majority and assume their rightful obligations as citizens. Fortunately 84 per cent of the mortality occurring before 15 falls within the first five years of life, when the economic cost of the child has not yet assumed extensive pro-

portions. Thus the wastage of human vitality is gradually being reduced.

5. Mental and Moral Effects.

From the moral and intellectual point of view, the infant mortality of the ages has been a constant reproach to men. It is a remarkable fact that a high infant mortality tends to inflict upon a people a fatalistic belief from which recovery is very difficult. It fetters the minds and the souls of men and causes them to rest the blame upon the Divine instead of placing it where it belongs—upon social neglect. Even to-day, many a mother consoles herself with the thought that it was God's will to take from her the victim of contagion or digestive disease. She does not know of the apparent discriminations against the poor, the overcrowded, and the ignorant. Ignorance develops fatalism, and fatalism checks the advance of science.

Another obstacle to progress has been the attitude of a group of impassioned religionists, who alleged that woman was irrevocably cursed to suffer, and to bring forth her offspring in pain and sorrow. Protest against the use of an anæsthetic to assuage the pain of an expectant mother is a case in point. Medical science must frequently combat religious prejudice, which has no right to interfere with social reform. The achievements of medicine and of sanitary science have done much to emancipate the human mind, and to prepare men for the acceptance of a program of social betterment, but the social and moral energy of a people living under bad conditions is to a large extent misdirected and impotent.

6. Physical Degeneracy.

A final consideration worthy of notice is the relation of infant and child mortality to physical deterioration and to our standards of physique. To this question no definite answer has as yet been given, and data upon the subject are too inadequate for broad and definite conclusions. The eugenists are busy gathering facts on this subject, but they must always work under very serious limitations. They cannot easily

separate the inherited from the acquired weaknesses, and it is difficult to prove their case. Meanwhile prenatal work among prospective mothers is pointing the way to individual improvement. The author has no patience with those men, whether eugenists or not, who regard with favor a considerable wastage of child life because it accords with their theory of the improvement of the human race through the operation of the law of natural selection. Beneficent as results may be for the race of the future, this law, unmitigated and untempered by human hands and hearts, is harsh and cruel, and its operation tends to debase the sensibilities of men and to retard progress. Race improvement cannot be left to the cold-hearted methods of unconscious nature, and man can act less harshly and with equal effect by means of a process of social selection. Instead of permitting the unfit to die, the more humane and economical method is that of refusing to permit the unfit to come into the world. This avoids the brutality of natural selection, and accomplishes the same result. Standards of fitness must eventually be created, and these must be positive in character and independent of the caprices of environment. Accordingly they cannot be secured through the operation of natural selection; for mind, not matter; reason, not instinct, must hereafter direct our line of progress.

Before the days of the physician, disease could not be controlled, and the weaker individuals perished, because mankind suffered from a long category of children's diseases. Certain races and peoples have in this way purchased considerable immunity from various diseases. The individuals most unfit to withstand some particular disease succumbed, and this long-continued process of elimination resulted in strengthening a people against further attacks of disease.

We are so far from a knowledge of what constitutes a correct standard of fitness that we must be cautious in our methods of attempting to improve the race. For example, when measles was first introduced into the Hawaiian Islands, it proved a terrible and most deadly plague, but later epidemics were less

severe, and the present population is still susceptible to the disease, though not in such a severe form. A selection of this kind protects against certain forms of attack but does not immunize a people from other diseases. It is not clear that in this way a race is provided with the physical standards best adapted to the conditions of modern life. We must not assume that the malaria-breeding mosquito and other germ-carrying insects form a necessary part of the environment of men. The susceptibility of the negro to yellow fever is unquestionably less than that of the white man, but this comparative immunity does not extend to all diseases, and in other respects the white man enjoys a similar superiority. Again immunity from disease is not the chief or only ground on which to judge physical standards. In fact, some diseases prefer the strong rather than the weak, and race vigor and susceptibility to a certain disease may indeed go together. Actual physical strength, productive capacity, and mental and moral vigor are the criteria of fitness, but immunity from disease bears no direct causal relation to these qualities. Furthermore, no single race has gained a superiority in all these respects.

Smallpox serves as an eloquent illustration of the fact that we have little to fear from the elimination of such diseases. How brutally selective this malignant scourge has been can be read in the history of its ravages among the savage tribes to which civilization has introduced it. Their proneness to the disease is due in part to their former isolation from the smallpox germs. The determining question, however, is, has the elimination of the children vulnerable to this disease improved the race or people long subject to smallpox? It has undoubtedly lessened the relative intensity of future attacks upon the Caucasian race: for example, an athletic Indian of splendid physique may succumb, while a diminutive Englishman or American may escape with a slight attack only. Who then can measure the actual physical gain from the decimating effects of smallpox? There is no certainty that it has ac-

complished anything in that direction which other forces would not have done with equal efficiency; and so with the entire army of germ diseases. They have been selecting for survival those most capable of resisting the germ, but here their labors cease. Being proof against germs is not an inherent characteristic of good physique. The two, on the contrary, have very loose connections. In the future we will endeavor to destroy the germ as well as to discover antidotes for the disease, and if any deterioration should accompany these scientific triumphs, the remedy will consist in positive measures to rear a more vigorous progeny, not to eliminate weaklings. The most that we can hope to gain from immunity against some particular germ is the elimination of the disease of which the germ is the cause, for physical strength and bodily vigor will be but slightly affected thereby.

Although death rates may represent certain forms of physiological selection, infant mortality is hardly a method of such selection. It is really a measure of the depths of the ignorance and backwardness of a civilization. If the reduction in infant mortality which will follow aggressive social reform should occasion a positive loss in physique and strength, then only will it become necessary to utilize positive methods of selection. Meanwhile the problem of physical degeneracy need cause little worry. The increasing death rate among persons in the higher age groups cannot be charged to a reduced infant mortality, since death rates were high when those now dying at the age of sixty were mere infants. The indifference and moral obtuseness consequent upon a misunderstood infant mortality should have no place in the lives of men and women, and opportunity for enjoying the fruits of life should be provided for all. Then only have we instituted a proper system of social economy.

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CHAPTER III

CONDITIONS UNDERLYING CHILD MORTALITY

HEALTH conditions, climate, customs, and industries in the United States vary widely from the conditions prevailing in Western Europe, and therefore the problem of infant and child mortality is somewhat different in character. Until recently our population has been largely rural, but with the development of urban and industrial centers and the increase of a wage-earning class, new conditions have been thrust upon us. These conditions are reflected in the varied rates of infant mortality.

1. Rural *vs.* Urban Mortality.

The first characteristic variation in infant death rates is the difference between the mortality of rural and urban districts. This difference, although not necessarily inherent, will tend to persist for an indefinite length of time. Our urban growth has been so rapid that cities of 10,000 and over now contain more than three-eighths of our entire population; consequently a steadily increasing percentage of children are becoming subject to the health conditions of the cities. City life has suffered from a number of very grave and almost insuperable disadvantages, and for these reasons the urban death rate has appeared hopeless. For a long time to come children in the city must suffer from a congestion of population. A pall of smoke or dust continually hovers over some cities and contaminates the air; the atmosphere is always more or less vitiated by impurities, and billions of injurious germs are ever ready to destroy human life. The lack of fresh air is perhaps the city's chief handicap, although children also suffer from an insufficient amount of light and sunshine. The salu-

brious effects of nature's healing forces are well known, but the country child is the chief gainer, as it is difficult to provide adequately for the city child.

Danger from contagion is much greater in the city than in the country districts, since even the most painstaking measures of quarantine and isolation will not obviate the differences. The ebb and flow of city populations tend to perpetuate disease and to carry it from place to place, but from these dangers the rural districts are almost immune. Hundreds of children are gathered together in city schools, and disease can easily be spread among them. Furthermore, crowds frequently assemble and scatter contagion. The cities offer the lurking germs a better opportunity to hide themselves, and the squalor and poverty of the "other half" render them easy victims of disease. Federal statistics indicate that such children's diseases as diphtheria, measles, pneumonia, and the diarrhœal diseases are much more frequent in the cities than elsewhere. The proportion of deaths in England caused by immaturity is twice as heavy in the cities as in the country, while that for epidemic diarrhœa is seven times as high. Another handicap which the city child must suffer is dependence upon an imported food supply which is subject to deterioration while on the way. Especially is this true of milk, from the bad effects of which thousands of children die every year, the immediate cause being some form of diarrhœal disease. Various contagious diseases are sometimes traceable to an infected milk supply, while fruits, vegetables, eggs, and meat are often partly spoiled before they reach the consumer in the city. Bad city water is a source of danger to thousands, whereas a single well or even a number of wells in the country will affect comparatively few people. Urban life therefore is inferior to rural life in three important respects: first, there is an insufficiency of fresh air, of sunlight, and of healthful outdoor life; second, contagious diseases are more common and less easily suppressed; third, the food and drink consumed in the city have a relatively greater deleterious effect.

The statistical results of the differences that exist are briefly indicated in the following table of mortality. The rates for the diseases specified show the proportion of deaths per 100,000 population in urban as contrasted with rural communities.

DEATH RATE FROM SPECIFIED DISEASES IN REGISTRATION AREA PER 100,000 POPULATION (1920) [1]

DISEASES	REGISTRATION CITIES	RURAL PARTS OF REGISTRATION STATES
Measles	10.2	7.4
Scarlet fever	5.2	3.9
Whooping cough	11.8	13.2
Diphtheria and croup	18.7	12.1
Diarrhœal diseases (under two years)	53.2	35.1

These statistics are not based on age groups, but children's diseases only have been selected for comparison. With the exception of whooping cough there seems to be a considerable disparity in favor of the rural communities. The urban rates were 51 per cent higher for diarrhœal diseases; 33 for scarlet fever, 54 for diphtheria and 72 for premature birth and congenital debility. Federal reports show that in recent years the death rates from several of these diseases have registered a significant decline, and that the differences between urban and rural rates are gradually diminishing, but in spite of better milk and baby welfare stations diarrhœal diseases are still greatly in excess in the cities and quarantine and early detection have not checked contagion. However, the rates from diseases of early infancy are almost uniform. Nature favors the child and ignorance in the country is far less serious than in the crowded smoky park-less portions of our cities.

2. **Negro *vs.* White Death Rates.**

There is a marked difference between the death rates of negro and of white children. This difference is so wide as to make it a problem of the utmost gravity for the negro race. The negro possesses certain constitutional disqualifications

[1] United States Bureau of the Census, Mortality Statistics, 1920.

which result in a uniformly high death rate in every age period of life, but other considerations also affect his vitality. Among these are his poverty, ignorance, bad housing conditions, sexual excesses, poor food, and general negligence.

The very unsatisfactory federal statistics for 1900 indicated that the mortality of negro children was double that of the white, and that in the cities three-eighths of the children under five were regularly lost. In the rural districts, however, the rate was one-third lower, less than that still existing among the white population of Eastern Europe. The wide disparity between the rural and urban rates is a hopeful sign for the negro, for it indicates that a considerable proportion of the excessive mortality is due to environmental factors and therefore subject to human control.

Significant changes have recently occurred and 1921 registers a great gain over previous years. Relative differences still remain, but absolute rates have fallen. In Kentucky the negro infant mortality was nearly twice that of the white, but was lower than the average rate for all children in 1911. Even in South Carolina the rate had fallen to 123 per 1,000 births and the average reported for Mississippi was only 85. The excesses are due largely to heavy death rates from the following diseases: premature birth, congenital debility, pneumonia, broncho-pneumonia, diarrhœa and enteritis and influenza. The effects of city life also seem to spell disaster, but the growing social program will gradually check these consequences.

Scarlet fever and diphtheria have been less severe in their attacks upon the negro child than upon the native whites, but the relative fatalities from the diarrhœal diseases have been distressingly larger, and so with the mortality from the respiratory diseases and from congenital debility. A lower death rate from certain diseases clearly indicates the comparative immunity of the negro race in these respects. On the other hand, higher rates do not in themselves prove a greater susceptibility to other diseases, because the precise influence of inferior social conditions cannot be determined. The latter

seldom favor the negro child, who, if he refuses to succumb to disease, clearly demonstrates superior resisting power. Although the negroes on the Panama Canal had a death rate two times as high as that of the white laborers, the comparative mortality of negroes and whites, living under practically the same conditions in our cities, is not so varied. It is fairly clear that a considerable proportion of the excess death rate among negro children is due to the unfortunate and dismal homes in which they live, and to the ignorant parents on whom they must depend for care.

3. Social and Industrial Conditions.

The difference between good and bad social and industrial conditions is roughly measured by the difference between intelligent care and neglect of children, although poverty is of course a dominant factor. The infant mortality in our slum sections and industrial centers is almost invariably larger than that in the other parts of our cities, the conspicuous exception to this rule being the low mortality of Jewish children, in spite of their life in the slums and among almost intolerable conditions. Industrial cities are prone to develop conditions inimical to child life. Frequently the number of married women employed is so large as to affect vitally the degree of care which can be bestowed on the child. The large factory towns of New England are conspicuous examples, since a considerable foreign population has entered the manufacturing establishments there; women are employed in large numbers in the mills, and consequently many children are neglected. In Massachusetts the infant mortality of the industrial centers where tenement houses are common, as in Fall River, is more than twice as large as that of the residential towns. Cities in which mixed conditions prevail show a proportionate mortality, the rates declining as residential features gain in comparative importance. Cholera infantum has been shown to have a direct relation to the number of married women employed away from home. The number of deaths from the diarrhœal diseases in the industrial sections is appalling, and must be

definitely attributed to the gross neglect of the children by their hard-working parents.

The misery of the slum is a well-known fact, and the poor districts of a city suffer from the excessive infant mortality imposed upon them by their surroundings. In Chicago, for instance, the Stockyards section is hopelessly inferior to a residence section such as Hyde Park. Some slum districts in spite of their high birth rate do not add so large a proportion to the total population as do the better sections with a smaller birth rate and a lower infant mortality. In the worst sections of St. Louis the infant death rate is twice that of the city as a whole, while English statistics show that the infant mortality of the wealthiest counties is slightly less than half that of the worst industrial county, the highest rates being found in the cities which are the seat of the pottery, textile, and mining industries.

The laboring classes suffer from a much higher infant mortality than do the salaried and professional classes. Some years ago Wolf [1] presented statistics for Erfurt, Germany, which indicated that 505 out of every 1000 infants died among the working classes; that the relative mortality among the middle classes was 173; that among the rich it was only 89. The principal cause of this lower rate among the wealthy was their greater capacity to care for their children in the right way. Scranton, Pa., Richmond, Va., Fall River, Mass., are the only American cities of more than 100,000 population which in 1920 reported an infant death rate of more than 100 per 1000 of the population under one year of age. Although grave difficulties exist among the various classes in the United States, they are less marked than abroad. Nevertheless the conditions of environment are uniformly superior for the child of wealthy parents; the housing is better, the food is more adaptable, a physician is always procurable, detailed care can be given, and disease can be more successfully combated. The proportion of wealthy children dying from measles

[1] See Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, p. 7.

and summer complaint is comparatively small. The higher mortality among the children of the working classes is due to the absence of these advantages, and even where women are not compelled to work away from home, other handicaps often exist. But when the mother must enter the gainful occupations, the situation is well-nigh hopeless.

The influence of ignorance is clearly seen in such rates as those prevailing in Moscow, Russia, which in 1910 had an infant death rate of 297 per 1000 births, while that of Amsterdam stood at 78. In thirty years the former city reduced its rate 7.9 per cent, the latter, 55.7 per cent. Where people are intelligent and the rate of illiteracy is low, there the preventable diseases of infancy are rapidly coming under control. In several European countries the agricultural districts suffer from very high infant death rates, which are mainly due to the enforced absence of the mother from the home, and to the utter ignorance of many of the peasants. Home conditions suffer if the mother is compelled to spend her time in the fields. In this way the superior advantages of the country are largely lost.

4. Illegitimacy.

Illegitimate children suffer from an enormous death rate, which usually ranges at about twice that of legitimate children. The differences are partly due to the fact that many fatherless babies are cared for in inferior institutions, partly to the ignorance or neglectfulness of the mother, who also has usually but little assistance in supporting her baby. She must work to maintain both herself and her child; accordingly the child frequently receives altogether too little care. If given as much care as the legitimate child, the death rates are but slightly different.[1] In the Poor Law Institution in London the rate per 1000 for legitimate children during the first two weeks of life was 47.2 in 1907; that for the illegitimate children was 1.1 per cent less, but in the institutions outside of London the rate for the illegitimates was 2.4 per cent higher than for

[1] Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, pp. 86, 87.

the others. Given a similar environment, the death rates do not vary much from each other.

5. Age and Sex as Factors.

A remarkable proportion of the infants that die are lost within the first three months of life; for example, in England, in 1920, 62 per cent of the infant mortality occurred during this period. In the registration area of the United States in 1921, the proportion was 66 per cent and 52 per cent of the deaths occurred during the first month. The mortality for the first month of life is apparently eleven times as heavy as for the remainder of the first year, but this is not all, for a still more startling condition exists. English statistics indicate that 2.2 per cent of the newly born die during the first week. At that rate no children would remain at the end of 45 weeks. In the United States about one-third of the infant deaths occur within one week from birth, while in some cities this rate is actually exceeded. Over 17 per cent of the deaths under one year occur the first day. The average mortality for the first week is 26 times as high as for the remainder of the year. To summarize: the infant mortality is very high during the first week, it remains high for a period of three months, then gradually declines month by month. In some cities, however, it rises again toward the close of the year because of the weaning of babies and the extended use of animal milk and other artificial foods.

About 106 boys are born to every 100 girls, this excess being necessary to offset the higher mortality among boy babies which continues throughout the first five-year age period. It seems that the resisting power of girls is somewhat greater than that of boys, but the reasons for this are somewhat obscure.

6. The Reduction of Infant Mortality.

The gravity of the problem in the United States is measured by the difference between the actual and the non-preventable infant mortality. Social progress demands that the rate be reduced to the lowest minimum consistent with the physical

welfare of the people. There is a limit below which the reduction of infant mortality would only result in an increase of the death rate throughout the childhood period, or in the preservation to adult years of men and women doomed to early death on account of constitutional weaknesses. The infant mortality is becoming a constantly decreasing proportion of all deaths, as more infants are being saved than formerly, while the gains for adults are less favorable. This does not necessarily imply a weakening of the race, but may simply mean preventive work where it was not applied before.

The saving of weaklings may be of doubtful benefit to society, yet social progress should be possible without the sacrifice of child lives. The present problem consists in reducing the infant mortality to the lowest point which enlightened civilization can accomplish. The reasonable bed-rock is far from present attainment, and experiments in limited areas where exceptional care could be given to children have resulted in remarkable reductions of the infant mortality. Because such experiments are necessarily local, the death rates which are attained represent a figure lower than the average to which general rates can be reduced for a considerable time to come.

INFANT MORTALITY IN REGISTRATION AREA AND SELECTED STATES [1]

AREA	RATE	
	1921	1917
Registration Area	76	100
California	66	..
Delaware	98	..
Kansas	63	77
Kentucky	62	87
White	58	82
Colored	110	152
Maryland	94	120
White	81	101
Colored	147	201
New York	75	91
Oregon	51	..
Rhode Island	93	108
Washington	55	69

[1] U. S. Bureau of Census, Mortality Statistics, 1921.

Continuous progress is being made in reducing rates of mortality. The fragmentary records of 1900 indicate infant death rates of approximately 150 per 1000 births, but by 1911 these rates had fallen more than 20 per cent. The very favorable figures for 1921 represent a rate about one-half of that prevailing 20 years before and are the lowest ever recorded in this country. In not a single state in the registration area did the general rate exceed 100, the lowest figure being recorded for Oregon and the highest for Delaware. The industrial states are far behind the agricultural states and the West seems to be in advance of the East.

Wide differences also exist among the cities, but these too have made remarkable progress as appears from the figures in the following table.

INFANT DEATHS PER 1000 BIRTHS

CITIES	1921
Fall River	114
Lowell	90
Richmond	101
Philadelphia	78
New York City	72
Boston	77
Los Angeles	68
Minneapolis	56
Portland	50
Seattle	52

The rates for Fall River and Lowell have been cut in two since 1911 and every one of these cities has made tremendous progress. A favorable climate and smaller slum areas no doubt account partly for the low rates in the West and Northwest, but the gains made in New York City represent the strenuous efforts of humanitarian agencies fighting against huge odds, nevertheless proving how large a proportion of infant mortality is absolutely preventable.

In 1885 the number of infant deaths per 1000 population, under one, was 273.6, a death rate of more than 25 per cent.

The most rapid decline began about 1910 and steady progress seems assured for some time to come.

Happily the facts clearly indicate that a large and growing city need not despoil its infant population, but if it recognizes the factors underlying health and constitutional vitality, it can make it physically desirable to reside in such a community. Of course, the smaller communities are still in the lead and some especially advantageously situated cities of the Far West can now boast of an infant mortality of between 3 and 4 per cent.

In a sense nearly all infant mortality is theoretically preventable, but as in the case of crime, industrial accidents, etc., a fairly regular recurrence of cases may be expected from year to year. The socially preventable mortality is a relative figure which will change from decade to decade.

In 1909 Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University computed the following ratio of preventability of death from certain diseases in which the median age at death is under five: [1] premature birth, 40 per cent; congenital debility, 40; diarrhœa and enteritis, 60; measles, 40; broncho-pneumonia, 50; whooping cough, 40; meningitis, 70; diphtheria, 70; croup, 75. He concluded that of all diseases in which the median age at death is one year the percentage of preventability was 47 and of other diseases of childhood, 67.[2] This would have made the number of preventable deaths among children approximately 200,000 per year.

In 1900 the number of deaths of children under five years of age in the United State was 317,532, or 30.5 per cent of all deaths, and the total deaths under one were 199,325, or 19 per cent of the mortality at all ages. In 1905 the registration area showed an aggregate of deaths almost identical with its record of 1900. The more satisfactory records of 1911 show that 209,482 children under five years of age died in that year

[1] See Bulletin of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health. Report on National Vitality, its Waste and Conservation.

[2] Median age represents that age before which 50 per cent of the instances have occurred.

in the registration area. If similar proportions were maintained throughout the United States, the loss to the country must have been more than 332,000 children, of whom over 95,000 were above one year and less than five, while the remainder, or 237,000, were under one.

Owing to the higher death rate among the negroes, most of whom were living outside of the registration area, and to the unhealthful conditions among many Southern whites the total infant mortality may have approximated 250,000.

The year 1921, however, tells us a new story of gains and progress. In the new registration area comprising about two-thirds of the population of the United States the infant deaths numbered 129,588. Making some allowance for a higher rate in the non-registration area, it is still unlikely that the total number was much above 200,000. In spite therefore, of our constantly increasing population and increasing number of births, the total infant deaths are less to-day than they were in 1910 and possibly less than twenty years ago.

What is true of infants also holds for children under five. The hard-hearted contention that a saving of infant lives means higher death rates among young children has been definitely disproved. Better care and better food have vitalized the growing child and actually reduced the mortality. In fact there were fewer deaths among children between one and five years of age in 1920 than there were in 1910 and the mortality rate, of course, was considerably lower. Although the general death rate has been gradually falling throughout the country, the death rate of infants and small children has fallen much more rapidly. In 1900 the deaths among children under 5, including infants, constituted more than 30 per cent of the total number, but in 1920 this proportion had fallen to 21.7 per cent and the good work goes steadily on. As a consequence in that year the total mortality under 5 in the United States may be estimated at about 310,000, some allowance being made for a higher rate in the non-registration area.

A review of the progress made in twenty years justifies a feeling of optimism, but a reflection on the fact that every year several hundred thousand children die forces the people to consider what further measures are necessary to curb this appalling loss of life. No rashness is involved in further predictions as to possible saving of infant lives. In the rural districts and in the smaller towns especially where a salubrious climate is enjoyed, the chances are so strongly in favor of the growing child, that a higher level of intelligence in respect to infant care should soon reduce the infant mortality to the low rates now enjoyed by Berkeley and other California towns. Why should not our rural communities as a whole reach the standard attained by New Zealand, and most of the Western cities should within the present decade likewise attain this goal. In the more congested cities of the East the task will be more difficult because both poverty and an unfortunate physical environment weigh more heavily on a larger proportion of the population. Nevertheless the ratios of preventability point unerringly to the gains that can be made, and buoyed up by the decline in rates elsewhere, the social service and health agencies of these communities must insist upon a continued marked reduction in the waste of child lives. The reasonable bed rock has not been reached. If New Zealand's death rate had prevailed in this country in 1921 there would have been 70,000 fewer infant deaths than actually occurred, and if similar gains had been made for the children between one and five, more than 100,000 in all would have been saved. Without question we are still facing one of the serious child problems of the day and cannot afford to minimize its importance.

7. Infant Mortality in Foreign Countries.

Foreign countries differ widely from each other in respect to their infant mortality. The Great War has so impoverished the people of certain countries that a new start must be made in many places, for rates have not fallen as would otherwise have been possible. Furthermore only limited statistics are

at present available. The following table presents figures for a selected group of countries.[1]

COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

COUNTRIES	YEAR	RATE
England	1919	89.1
Ireland	1919	87.8
Denmark	1919	91.6
Sweden	1916	69.5
New Zealand	1918	48.4
Holland	1919	49.7
Japan (partial)	1917	173.2
Australia	1920	69.1
Chile	1918	254.6
Spain	1917	154.8
Austria	1913	189.8
Prussia	1914	163.7
Italy	1916	166.1

These figures should be compared with each other and also with the recent records of our own country. Although New Zealand leads every other nation, it should be remembered that this is a very small country and is largely rural. Holland, although its rates are somewhat higher, presents a more noteworthy record of accomplishment. Besides Australasia, Northwest Europe enjoys the lower rates of mortality, rates very similar to those now prevailing in this country. All of these countries comprise an intelligent and fore-sighted population and are also favored by climatic conditions, of which the absence of hot summers is perhaps the most important item.

In these countries also systematic efforts have been made to reduce the infant mortality through campaigns to promote breast feeding, through the establishment of milk stations and systems of nursery service and through the better regulation of the employment of married women. The improvement in New Zealand seems to have been the direct outcome of organized endeavor to reach every new-born baby in the land with instructions for its care and feeding. Perhaps no better evidence can be obtained as to the value of visiting nurse work.

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Birth Statistics, 1920.

The black shadows of the recent war still obscure the records of Southeast Europe where before 1914 an enormous rate of mortality remained practically unchecked. Even Austria and Prussia just before the war had not attained the level which the United States had reached before 1900. Whether the high birth rates of these countries relieved statesmen of the necessity of saving lives or whether the indifference was due to other causes cannot be definitely ascertained, but here the birth rates are also sure to decline and thus aggravate the problem of infant mortality. The older statistics for Hungary and Russia reflected the ignorance and backwardness of their peasant population and it is unlikely that much progress has been made in recent years. In Hungary two and in Russia three out of every ten babies perished. The havoc during the war was unspeakable and reached startling proportions that probably will never again be suffered.

South Europe has not kept pace with its northern neighbors. Hot summers, dense poverty and an amazing amount of illiteracy stand in the way of better things. Nevertheless the records shine in contrast with those of the South American countries. Progressive Chile in 1918 permitted more than one-fourth of its babies to die, and rates such as these are accompanied by others for children between one and five of such a nature that less than one-half of the children live to celebrate their fifth birthday. Only an enormous birth rate can maintain for such a country even a stationary population and its growth depends entirely on immigration. Japan likewise is still far behind and yet has lower rates than some of the Caucasian peoples of Europe. Its birth rate likewise greatly exceeds its death rate, a fact responsible for many of its political problems.

A brief review of world conditions indicates that millions of baby lives are sacrificed each year. One shudders to think of the pain and suffering among the 12,000,000 babies born in Europe each twelve months. Of the tragedies in India and China no one is fully aware. Few nations of the world

have effectively grappled with the problem of conserving human life.

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CHAPTER IV

PHYSIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF CHILD MORTALITY

1. Diseases of Children.

Children are particularly susceptible to certain diseases, and therefore the average age at death of persons dying from these diseases is comparatively low. The term "children's diseases" may therefore be properly applied to a number of such affections, of which the following are the principal ones: [1]

CHILDREN'S DISEASES AND MEDIAN AGE AT DEATH. 1920

DISEASE	MEDIAN AGE AT DEATH
Diphtheria	4 years
Measles	1 year
Scarlet fever	5 years
Whooping cough	Under 1
Diarrhœa	Under 1
Broncho-pneumonia	3 years
Meningitis	4 years
Diseases of early infancy	Under 1 week

Smallpox was formerly a children's disease, but now the average age at death is nearly 28 years. This change is not due to any transformation of the disease, but to the splendid achievements of medical science which has almost exterminated it. Vaccination has rendered the child comparatively immune, and since adults are now more frequently exposed than are children, they likewise more often acquire the disease.

a. Diphtheria.

This disease has been the chief terror of childhood since the virtual elimination of smallpox. It is an extremely malignant

[1] Computed from United States Bureau of the Census, Mortality Statistics, 1920.

disease, as is evidenced by its continued high case fatality. The remarkable change, however, which medicine has accomplished since 1890 is shown by the following facts: in 1891 the percentage of diphtheria cases in Brooklyn which proved fatal was 63.6; in New York City (old) it was 36.5; in Baltimore in 1894 it was 74 per cent, but at present in each of these cities the rates have been reduced to less than 10 per cent. In Boston in 1911 the rate had fallen to 5.88 per cent, and during the period 1900-1920 the general death rate throughout the United States fell 65 per cent.

The reduction in the death rate has been largely due to the extended use of antitoxin, which was first introduced in 1895. Chicago presents an excellent example of its value. During the decade 1897-1906 the case fatality in this city from cases treated with antitoxin by the bureau of health was only 6.5 per cent. Chicago's experience also illustrates the advantage of early treatment of the disease, since the results of the treatment of 8372 cases during the period given above show that if the administration of antitoxin occurred on the first day of the disease, the mortality was .32 per cent; if on the second day, 1.51 per cent; if on the third day, 3.38 per cent; if on the fourth, 11.15 per cent; but if antitoxin was not used until a later day, the rate rose to 22.01 per cent.[1] Furthermore, during this period more than 9000 persons who had been exposed to the disease were treated with immunizing doses of antitoxin, and of these persons only 51 afterwards contracted the disease, all of whom subsequently recovered.

Some difficulty has been experienced in securing an ample supply of serum. Private manufacturers have not always acted generously toward cities in need of antitoxin, so occasionally a shortage has occurred, and cities are sometimes compelled to borrow a supply from other localities to meet an emergency.

In spite of recent progress, diphtheria is not yet wiped out,

[1] Report of the Department of Health, Chicago, 1906, p. 129.

and is still the cause of many deaths. Diphtheria and croup cause more than twice as many deaths as scarlet fever and nearly twice as many as measles, and the case fatality, although greatly reduced since 1895, is still higher than that of either of these diseases. The following steps are gradually being taken to save the children from this disease: first, a bacteriological diagnosis of the case, which has resulted in the positive identification of cases, which were then properly quarantined, thereby checking contagion. New York City began this in the year 1892, and accomplished good results through the exercise of this precaution. Second, the establishment of a rigid quarantine, and in the larger cities of medical inspection in the schools, by means of which many incipient cases of diphtheria are discovered. The rates of morbidity are thereby considerably decreased.

Third, the extensive use of antitoxin, which has saved thousands of lives. The effectiveness of the virus is evident from the work done in the tenement house districts of New York City, where the case fatality in 1903 among the poor who were treated free of charge by the health officials was only 5.7 per cent, as compared with an average of 10.5 per cent for the entire city. The existence of this remedy has lessened the tendency of many parents to conceal the fact that some of their children are suffering from the disease. The serum is still rather costly, and the poor are unable to pay for its use, but all of the large cities have liberally provided for the free distribution of antitoxin to those unable to engage the services of a physician directly, and private charity has provided adequate hospital room. Accordingly, no one need forego the enlightened treatment which the present day affords. Undue caution, however, frequently results in a tardy diagnosis, with consequent disaster to the child.

Fourth, the tracing of the contagion to the place of origin and ascertaining its communicating medium. Bad milk, sweatshop goods, unclean food, and other agencies which carry the disease are being more carefully inspected than formerly. In

many cities pasteurization has acted as a deterrent; for example, in the city of Washington, where the prevalence of diphtheria has declined, owing largely to this method of caring for milk. Pure food laws and the inspection of goods made in tenements are additional measures that reach the disease at its sources and decrease the danger of contagion. Health departments also use more initiative than formerly.

Fifth, a recently discovered test known as the Schick test will ascertain the susceptibility of the individual to the disease. An immunizing serum has also been discovered and as a consequence many children are now inoculated against the disease. Normally about 60 per cent of the children under 15 are susceptible to diphtheria, but negroes enjoy greater immunity than do the whites.

Climate also influences the prevalence of the disease, it being much more common in winter than in summer and naturally therefore less prevalent in the south than elsewhere.

b. Measles and Scarlet Fever.

Although less dangerous than diphtheria, measles and scarlet fever are extremely contagious. Science has as yet discovered no specific for them, and victims must rely upon the old methods of treatment. The case fatality of measles is less than 2 per cent, but the mortality is greater than that from scarlet fever. In 1920 measles caused 7712 deaths in the registration area of the United States, or approximately 9400 for the entire country. Measles is especially fatal during the second year of life, while the season of greatest prevalence is from February to May; that is, it is a spring disease, but the number of cases fluctuates widely from year to year, with a general average that changes but little. In New York City waves of incidence seem to appear every second year. Since the disease has been quarantined and fumigation practiced, a favorable decline in the number of cases has occurred, but cities still suffer disproportionately, and far exceed the rural districts in their fatalities. The disease could be more effectively checked but for the attitude of many mothers, who

regard measles as an unavoidable disease and who permit their children to be exposed to it. Wage-earning mothers frequently hide the fact from the health officials and so evade quarantine. The general feeling of unconcern results in lax attention to the disease, so it is carried to school by children and spread far and wide. In spite of the law, physicians do not always require quarantine, nor are the health officials or the public sufficiently cautious, as is indicated by the enormous variation in the death rates among different cities. The mortality from measles can be entirely wiped out.

Scarlet fever causes slightly fewer deaths than does measles, but its case fatality is from two to three times greater, the heaviest mortality occurring during the third and fourth years of life, while the season of greatest prevalence is during the late winter months. The disease frequently leaves very serious after-effects, the most important of which is impaired hearing or total deafness. No other disease causes so much defectiveness except meningitis and possibly ophthalmia; consequently there is special need of guarding against it.

Scarlet fever is practically unknown in those countries, such as Japan, that do not use cow's milk as food; it is evident, therefore, that a close relation exists between the use of the milk and the disease, the elimination of which consequently depends largely upon the purification of the milk supply. An epidemic has on several occasions been traced to a dairy farm where victims of the fever have infected the milk. Buffalo, Chicago, and other cities have endeavored to prevent the disease by attempting to discover its source. The scarlet fever germ will lie dormant for years, and then infect through contact with the individual. Accordingly the disease should be subjected to the strictest quarantine, precautionary methods should be adopted, and thorough fumigation required, since more easily than any other malignant disease can it be carried about by old or exposed clothes. The poor and constitutionally weak are more prone to succumb to this disease than are the strong and well-fed, since the former have less power of re-

sistance. Better nutrition, sufficient food, and more adequate care of the young are needed to resist attacks of the fever. Otherwise a high case fatality will continue for many years.

c. Whooping-Cough and Respiratory Diseases.

Whooping-cough is decidedly a disease of infancy, since more than one-half of the deaths from this disease occur during the first year of life, and five-sixths under two. Formerly, rates in the country were lower than those in the city, but in 1920 the rural rates were slightly higher. Epidemics in the cities have been greatly reduced by medical inspection of schools, by the exercise of greater precaution than heretofore, and by a policy of systematic quarantine. The American mortality from this cause is hardly one-half that of England or Germany. Whooping-cough is most common during the summer and autumn months; nearly every one contracts the disease at some time, and the annual deaths are about equal to those from measles.

Acute bronchitis is a disease of childhood as well as of old age. About one-half of all deaths from this cause occur during the first year of life; more than two-thirds take place during the first five-year period, and nearly all of the remainder occur after the forty-fifth year. The total death rate for both bronchitis and pneumonia is much higher than the rate for measles, scarlet fever, or whooping-cough. Here the rural districts show lower rates than do the cities, but the difference is not a marked one. The winter months are especially favorable to a high mortality from these respiratory diseases; for example, in the registration area in 1920 the deaths from bronchitis were four times as numerous and from pneumonia nine times as high in January as in August. Among children under five, broncho-pneumonia is by far the most fatal respiratory disease, it causing more deaths than any other disease except diarrhœa and enteritis and the diseases of early infancy. With the other respiratory diseases it emphasizes the need of fresh air, proper ventilation, and the avoidance of undue exposure.

d. Diseases of the Digestive System.

Formerly the most deadly of all children's diseases, diarrhœa and enteritis, have in recent years been succeeded by the diseases of early infancy. Effective work in saving child lives in the past has been measured largely by the success attained in reducing the mortality from the digestive diseases. This saving has been accomplished largely among children more than three months of age and furnishes the chief reason for the rapid decline in the infant mortality rate. The following table illustrates the success that has been achieved in the registration area of the United States: [1]

DEATHS UNDER TWO YEARS FROM DIARRHŒA AND ENTERITIS PER 100,000 POPULATION

AREA	AVERAGE 1900–1904	1908	1911	1920
Registration area	112.8	116.0	77.4	44.0
Registration cities	126.0	128.0	95.3	53.2
Registration states	113.4	116.2	73.6	43.4
Cities in registration states	139.9	133.5	91.0	52.2
Rural part of registration states	80.3	96.9	55.8	35.1
Registration cities in other states	111.8	114.6	119.6	81.1

In 1920, 45,868 children in the registration area died of these diseases, and the total mortality for the United States at the same rate must have been approximately 47,000, or nearly 3 times the number of deaths from diphtheria and croup. About four-fifths of these deaths occur during the first year of life. The urban rate is still much higher than the rural rate, and the industrial cities show a distinctively heavy mortality. From year to year the rate throughout the registration area has fluctuated but slightly. The year 1920 however was noted for the lowest rate yet—lower than any during the preceding decade. Many individual cities have successfully reduced their mortality from the intestinal diseases by insisting upon the proper preventive measures. For example, Fall River, Massachusetts, which in 1911 reported a rate of

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Mortality Statistics. 1900-1904, 1908, 1911, 1920.

327.4 per 100,000 of the population had reduced its rate in 1920 to 152.6. Even this is three times the average rate for the registration cities. Local social and industrial conditions are largely responsible for this fact.

Likewise in Lowell and in other manufacturing cities the rates have declined more slowly because of the high proportion of ignorant, non-English speaking people. Here the city officials are often less alert, and the instruction of mothers constitutes a difficult problem. In some of the smaller towns very high rates continue to prevail. Several of the largest cities have however in spite of difficulties attending the work, succeeded in reducing the mortality from the diarrhœal diseases. Greater New York City lost 4590 children under two years of age in 1911, but only 2694 in the year 1920. The rate has decreased considerably since 1895, when a decided fall in the mortality from this source first took place. In spite of its size and congestion, New York City has made splendid progress, while Philadelphia, with ample room and many homes, has a much higher rate. So has Chicago, although vigorous attempts have been made to diminish the digestive diseases there. The lowest rates occur in the rural districts of the Northwest and the far West.

The distribution of the diseases throughout the different months of the year is most significant, as in no other case does the death rate vary so heavily from season to season. The predominating influence of weather conditions as a cause—direct or indirect—of the violent fluctuations in rates is therefore at once apparent. The following table shows the proportion of deaths each month of the year, according to figures based on the mortality in the registration area of the United States during the year 1920.

This table shows that during the winter and spring months the mortality is comparatively low, that it rises as summer approaches, reaches its highest point in September and then gradually declines. The rate for September is four times that of the winter months, and more than half of the deaths occur

PROPORTION OF DEATHS FROM DIARRHŒA AND ENTERITIS[1] (CHILDREN UNDER 2) (BASE = 1000)

MONTHS	PROPORTION	MONTHS	PROPORTION
January	43.0	July	97.5
February	48.7	August	164.0
March	55.0	September	171.0
April	50.4	October	132.0
May	53.2	November	76.7
June	61.0	December	47.5

during the summer season. Particularly hot summers also cause an excessive death rate from these diseases; but as they are germ diseases, heat must be regarded as a contributory rather than a primary cause. Attention must, therefore, be given to the fundamental causes, so that the heat will not aggravate them.

After the first month of life, the diarrhœal diseases are the principal single cause of death for the remainder of the first year; in fact, during the second quarter of the year, over 40 per cent of the deaths are caused by these diseases. The rates, however, decline slowly month by month but remain comparatively high during the first half of the second year because of weaning and the subsequent use of cow's milk and milk substitutes. In many cities half of the deaths during the second quarter of the first year are due to diarrhœa and enteritis,—a fact due largely to a failure to institute the preventive measures which have been so successful in some localities.

e. Diseases of Early Infancy.

The diseases of early infancy have not received much attention from social workers until recently, since deaths from these causes have been considered inevitable. Malformations were responsible in 1920 for about 15,000 deaths in the United States. Probably very little can be done to reduce this mortality, although prenatal work might lessen the number of abnormalities. From the eugenic point of view the race would be strengthened by the elimination of this group.

[1] United States Bureau of Census, Mortality Statistics, 1920.

Premature birth and congenital debility are the principal diseases of early infancy, having caused 47,824 deaths in the registration area in 1920 and probably 68,100 throughout the United States. Two-thirds of the deaths during the first day of life are due to these two causes, which are also responsible for more than half of the mortality of the first month. Nearly all of the fatal premature birth cases die before the child is four weeks old, but many congenital debility cases linger beyond this time. However, nearly all the deaths occur before the end of the third month. Syphilis is the chief cause of congenital debility.

The death rate in the United States from the entire group of diseases classed under the term "early infancy" shows but little change. There are slight fluctuations from year to year, but the mortality rate in 1920 was but slightly lower than during the years 1901-1905. It appears therefore that practically no progress has been made against the conditions responsible for this very heavy mortality. In England, where the death rate from these causes is higher than in the United States the relative rate is increasing—a fact which is a cause of great concern. The so-called "wasting diseases," which include premature births, congenital defects, lack of breast milk, starvation, atrophy, debility, and marasmus, are a cause of half of the infant mortality. It seems that the rate is higher among the poor than among the well-to-do, and that it is lower in the country than in the cities. These differences indicate that social and industrial conditions affect the rates and that heredity is not the only factor. The prenatal condition of the mother is also an important consideration, and may outweigh all other factors.

f. Meningitis and Convulsions.

Another ailment responsible for many fatalities among children is meningitis, which destroys about as many children as does measles, although the death rate has fallen more than 50 per cent during the last decade. Physicians are seeking earnestly for some specific with which to cure the disease, for it

cripples a large number of the children it attacks and also causes feeble-mindedness.

Nearly 2000 children died in 1920 in the registration area from "convulsions." This term is used loosely in designating deaths that really result from some preceding cause, such as diarrhœa or injuries at birth, a severe case of which may cause convulsions. Then the victim dies, although the fatality would not have occurred but for the principal disease.

g. Proportionate Mortality from Principal Diseases.

Having completed this short summary of children's diseases, the following table showing the distribution of mortality among several groups of diseases is particularly significant.[1]

PROPORTIONATE MORTALITY FROM PRINCIPAL DISEASES IN THE U. S. IN 1911 AND 1920[2]

DISEASES	UNDER 1		UNDER 5	
	1911	1920	1911	1920
Malformations and diseases of early infancy	33.9	41.9	22.3	29.7
Diarrhœa and enteritis	25.0	17.7	23.0	16.7
Bronchitis and pneumonia (inc. broncho-pneumonia)	14.8	15.0	16.6	17.0
All other diseases	26.3	25.4	38.1	36.6

This table indicates that three groups of diseases are responsible for nearly three-fourths of the deaths of infants, and for over 60 per cent of the deaths of children under five. The first group causes nearly one-third of the infant mortality—more than any other cause. How much is due to constitutional weakness of father and mother? How much to overwork and improper care of the prospective mother? How much to malnutrition? These are questions still unanswered. So enormous is the proportionate mortality from diseases of early infancy

[1] Computed from Report of the United States Bureau of the Census, Mortality Statistics, 1911, 1920.

[2] Figures for 1911 cover registration area of 1910 and figures for 1920 area for latter year. Although the two areas differ in size the principle of statistical regularity makes the comparisons generally valid.

that a study of prenatal conditions is necessary to determine what particular environmental factors contribute to this result. The general failure to reduce these rates within the last decade indicates that new lines of attack are necessary, although the evidence that a large percentage is preventable is very strong. Consequently in the near future this will furnish a fertile field for the operations of the social workers, especially in view of the constantly declining birth rates.

The next group—diseases of the digestive system—cause more than one-sixth of all deaths under one and an almost equal percentage of the mortality under five. Here we are dealing almost exclusively with post-natal conditions, and the great majority of all these deaths are preventable, for the causes are well known, and the eugenic consideration hardly enters. The need now is an adequate program of prevention. Owing to the many deaths after the first year, this group causes a heavy mortality under five, which means that the loss to society is comparatively high; for the social cost involved increases with the age of the child. Next to the diseases of early infancy no phase of the problem is more important than the prevention of the digestive diseases.

The respiratory diseases claim about one-sixth of the child mortality, much of which can likewise be prevented, but the method is difficult. The causes lie chiefly in two extremes of conduct—lack of ventilation and bad air on the one hand, over-exposure on the other. Ignorance, bad housing, and poverty are prime factors in the problem, and these it will indeed be difficult to remove.

All the other causes, including the contagious diseases, produce but one-fourth of the infant mortality and slightly more than one-third of that under five. While all of these causes must be understood and methods of prevention instituted, they do not lend themselves to some simple unified program of action. We therefore find three principal groups of diseases, each of which can be largely counteracted by some specific method of control, as follows:

(1) Diseases of the Digestive System—through proper control of the milk supply.

(2) Diseases of Early Infancy—by instituting prenatal and neo-natal work.

(3) Respiratory Diseases—by providing children with pure air.

2. Ultimate Causes of Child Mortality.

In the foregoing pages we have detailed the more important pathological causes of infant mortality. These, however, are not fundamental, but are induced by more remote or ultimate causes; and it is the latter with which we must deal in order to eliminate disease. Preventive medicine is more important than the art of healing, but even this does not touch bottom. The sociologist asks, what are the hereditary and environmental factors which aid the disease germs? Would not the improvement of social and personal conditions, coupled with direct methods of preventing disease, practically eliminate many of the ills of childhood?

a. Causes as Classified by Farr and by Newsholme.

Writing in 1862, Dr. Farr, the eminent English vital statistician, concluded that the conditions in respect to food, water, cleanliness, malnutrition, and midwifery were the principal causes of the unnecessary infant mortality in England. Arthur Newsholme in 1899 gave the following classification of causes:

(1) Premature Births and Congenital Defects.

(2) Hereditary Tendencies. (Inheritance of syphilis, drunkenness, etc.)

(3) Inexperience and Neglect of Mothers.

(4) Industrial Conditions. (Women working during and after pregnancy.)

(5) Social Conditions.

(6) Improper Food.

(7) Deaths from Accidental or Homicidal Violence.

b. Causes according to Newman.

George Newman regards the prenatal influence as a most prominent cause of infant mortality in England. Among the

important factors he includes the ill effects of poisoning caused by the work of mothers in certain dangerous trades, the action of alcohol upon fœtal life, poor physique and ill health in the mother, previous miscarriages, poverty and insufficiency of food, and overwork by the mother. Among the postnatal causes are: the occupation of mothers who leave their children at home without providing them with proper care; the prevalence of city life; poor housing; bad social conditions; artificial feeding of infants; the use of contaminated milk; and ignorance and carelessness on the part of mothers. This ignorance manifests itself in the methods of feeding, in uncleanliness, in exposure, in drunkenness, and in indifference to parental obligations. To poverty as a cause Newman does not attach much weight.

c. Detailed Table of Causes.

The underlying causes with special reference to the United States may be conveniently classified as follows:

I. Improper Feeding.
   (1) Artificial Feeding.
   (2) Use of Indigestible Foods.
   (3) Use of Bad Milk.

II. Underfeeding.
   (1) Caused by Ignorance of Mother.
   (2) Caused by Failure of Natural Food Supply.
   (3) Caused by Poverty of Parents.

III. Unsanitary Conditions.
   (1) Bad Housing Conditions, such as Insufficient Light and Air.
   (2) Overcrowding.
   (3) Filthy Homes.
   (4) Absence of Needed Sanitary Arrangements, *e.g.* Sewerage Systems.
   (5) Germ-laden Water.
   (6) Lack of Park Area.

IV. Ignorance of Parents.

(1) As to Need of Pure Air.
(2) As to Right Methods of Feeding the Child.
(3) As to Proper Way to Protect Child from Exposure.
(4) As to Intelligent Care of the Sick Child.

V. Inadequate Quarantine System.
VI. General Influence of City Life.
VII. Negligence of Parents.
VIII. Climatic Conditions.
(1) Extremes of Heat and Cold.
(2) Dampness.
IX. Occupation of Mother.
X. Prenatal Influences.
(1) Effects of Overwork by Mother.
(2) Toxic Influence on Fœtal Life.
(3) Malnutrition of Mother.
(4) Condition inducing Abortion, Premature Birth, and Malformation.
XI. Hereditary Causes.
(1) Defectiveness.
(2) Constitutional Weakness.
(3) Inherited Diseases.
XII. Poverty.

3. Analysis of Important Causes.

a. Poverty.

Poverty is both a cause and an effect, and is usually part of a vicious circle which must be broken before the revolving train of consequences can be checked. Indirectly, poverty is a serious factor. Infant mortality is high among the poor, not because they are poor, but because, being poor, they cannot take advantage of the opportunities needed to prevent and to cure disease. Frequently ignorance accompanies poverty and ignorance leads often to sickness and death. In England out of 3000 infants born in homes in which the weekly income averaged less than $5, 15 per cent died within the first week;

this, in spite of the fact that charity nurses were sent to each case. In an English private hospital attended largely by the well-to-do, the death rate was only two-thirds as high. In St. Louis the general infant death rate is slightly more than half as large as that of the most wretched of the city's districts.

b. Use of Cow's Milk.

Nature has provided a most satisfactory way of feeding the infant, but civilization has recently begun to substitute other methods. So far the substitutes have not been generally successful, although there is no inherent reason why they may not eventually be so perfected that efficient results will follow. Many mothers now feed their babies on cow's milk, and have discontinued breast feeding. This is probably true of a majority of the wealthy classes and of a large minority of the poor, it having been estimated that about 60 per cent of the wealthy and well-to-do use artificial foods. Many mothers do not want to bother with the nursing of their babies and turn the important task of feeding them over to the nurse girl. Recent investigations indicate that among the poor the proportion of mothers who do not practice maternal feeding is somewhat less than 20 per cent. If in these cases ordinary raw dairy milk is used, the result is frequently disastrous to the child, but the effects of milk substitutes are, on the other hand, still more fatal, and both classes of food may be heavily laden with disease and death. Tests made in European countries have revealed the fact that breast feeding yields the lowest infant mortality, that the use of animal milk causes a larger death rate, and that the milk substitutes are responsible for the highest rates.

There are some very striking differences between cow's and human milk. The former contains 3.5 per cent of proteids, the latter 1.5; the percentage of milk sugar is 4.5 and 7 respectively; of ash .75 and 2; the water and the fat constituencies are practically the same; in the former 4.3 per cent is nitrogenized, in the latter 1.9; while the one has an acid, and the other an alkali, reaction.

Cow's milk was intended for calves, not for babies, so in order to become an adequate substitute for mother's milk it must be modified, and modification must proceed along very definite lines. The high percentage of proteids must be reduced by adding water; that of milk sugar must be raised by sweetening the milk; then additional cream is necessary, because the watering has decreased the proportion of fat; finally limewater is introduced to obtain the alkali reaction. Only by changing the ingredients in this way does it possess the proper proportions for the child. If the use of cow's milk is to increase, its modification will be necessary in the case of thousands of infants in order to prevent their becoming victims of disease. Many children are able to thrive on undiluted cow's milk, but it is precisely because large numbers are incapable of adapting themselves to this unnatural diet that diseases of the digestive system attack and destroy them. Furthermore, breast milk changes its constituency, varying with the age of the child—an accommodation which has been worked out by nature for the advantage of the babe. Animal milk, on the other hand, does not vary to meet the changing needs of the infant, and consequently is an inferior and unsatisfactory food. The proper modification of animal food requires various mixtures, each adapted to a specific age period of the infant, at least three or four modifications being needed during the first six months of life.

Experiments conducted by the Rockefeller Institute of New York City to test the relative merits of the different kinds of milk used for infants resulted in the following statistics based on a study of 400 families divided into four equal groups, each of which used a different kind of milk. The results secured are given in the table on page 83.

The store milk was sold from the open cans, and was therefore subject to rapid deterioration and multiplication of bacteria. It yielded the worst results, with the exception of the condensed milk, which is not adapted to the small child and which cannot from its very nature be expected to succeed.

MERITS OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF MILK

KINDS OF MILK	RESULTS	
	Good	Bad
Condensed milk	56	44
Store milk	60	40
Bottled milk	61	39
Straus and diet kitchen milk	81	19

Bottled milk proved slightly more favorable, but the pasteurized and specially prepared milk alone showed a high percentage of good results. The difference between the last grade and the rest is sufficiently striking to illustrate the necessity of constant attention to the kind of food given to the infant.

The investigation made in 1907 by the summer corps of inspectors and nurses of the New York City Department of Health yielded the following very interesting conclusions in regard to the results of feeding children with various kinds of milk. Of the total number of children under nine months of age, 81.15 per cent were being breast fed, and only 18.85 per cent received cow's milk or other forms of artificial food. The latter group of children, however, furnished 57.53 per cent of all cases of diarrhœa, while the former, comprising more than four-fifths of all the children investigated, supplied less than one-half (42.47 per cent) of the cases. Of the children under nine months of age who died of diarrhœal disease, 25.04 per cent had been breast fed, while 74.96 per cent had been artificially fed. The proportions for children over nine months were almost similar, being 23.72 and 76.28 per cent respectively. Accordingly, three-fourths of the deaths from these diseases were furnished by a group containing less than one-fifth of the total number of children; that is, the death rate from diarrhœal diseases was twelve times as high among the children using animal milk or substitutes as among those nursed directly by their mothers.[1]

[1] The recent study of Infant Mortality in Baltimore by the Federal Children's Bureau yields proportions that are amazingly similar. See Bureau Publication Number 119.

In the summer of 1910 a limited study was made in St. Louis of the feeding history of babies. The facts show that while only 15.5 per cent were bottle-fed, these furnished 74 per cent of the digestive trouble, or 15 times their proper proportion. When the mother nurses the child, such disease is exceptional, but when cows' milk is used it is the most common of the diseases. Two well-known illustrations may properly be cited here. The siege of Paris during the Franco-Prussian war forced many mothers to nurse their babies, and although the general death rate rose because of the scarcity of food, that of infants declined precipitately. The great strike in the cotton mills in Manchester, England, sent hundreds of mothers home, with the result that their children were properly nursed, and the infant mortality fell 40 per cent. The superiority of mother's milk and the bad effects under ordinary conditions of the various forms of artificial foods are thus clearly demonstrated.

The first step advocated by many physicians is the return to breast feeding wherever that is possible, because a pure, clean food is thereby assured. In an increasing number of cases, however, this seems impossible, hence the market supply of milk must be improved to insure the health of the babies and small children. The milk supply of our cities receives but little attention, because its importance has not yet been appreciated.

c. Ignorance and Indifference.

Apart from the inadaptability of prepared foods, disease is not a necessary consequence of their use, since the care of the food is the principal factor in its disease-producing effects. Dirt and germs are introduced into cow's milk at the first contact with the air. Frequently disease germs are present, and these soon multiply under the effects of heat, and through the milk infect the babies. The principal specific result is the occurrence of diseases of the digestive system, and these, as has already been shown, form a very important group of causes of infant and child mortality. The special incidence of

a high death rate during the summer months depends largely upon the effect of the heat upon the milk. The milk deteriorates, and the harmful bacteria multiply in a very short time. Accordingly the child suffers more in summer from the use of milk originally as good and as carefully handled as the milk supplied during the winter months, a fact which should stimulate producers of milk and dealers to take every precaution. In summer the milk must be kept cleaner and cooler than during the remainder of the year. Commercialism rather than philanthropy has guided men, however, and during the hottest months of the year, when babies need the best of foods, they are rewarded with the most germ-laden milk.

Mothers too are very neglectful, and usually they do not know that dirty milk allowed to become stale and warm increases the probability of disease. They do not understand the germ theory, so they blindly persist in feeding babies with milk that is no longer fit for food. The milk contains germs to begin with and the effect of the heat is largely indirect. It is unsanitary conditions in the production and the care of milk that cause the germs to be introduced, but heat multiplies the germ very rapidly, and in a short time the babies suffer from intestinal disorders. Babies do not usually die of excessive heat, but from diseases which have been superinduced by the effect of heat upon their food. The emphasis, then, must be placed not on protection from the heat but on protection from vitiated milk. Neglect and ignorance are regarded as three times as serious in their results as the heat.

d. Bad Housing Conditions.

The bad housing conditions of the poor also undermine the health of the children. The effects, however, are not so evident upon the suckling child, which draws upon the mother for its vitality and therefore does not suffer as far as the food item is concerned. The absence of light, of fresh air, and sunshine bears more heavily upon the child beyond this age, since he is weakened and devitalized thereby and becomes a prey to disease. To some extent inferior housing is a reflection of the

poverty of the people, and poverty, not housing, should be charged with the results. Overcrowding, however, no matter how caused, does result in an increased child mortality, and several investigations of tenement districts have disclosed the fact that a larger proportion of deaths occur in the rear and more poorly constructed and worse situated houses than in those facing the street. Rents are also lower; so the victims of poverty gravitate toward the alley. They are not able to command the services of a physician, and are further oppressed by unsanitary and dilapidated homes. A heavy mortality is the natural result.

e. Syphilis.

This disease is too serious a factor to be ignored. It has been estimated that about 10 per cent of the prospective mothers treated at public hospitals are syphilitic and that three-fourths of the children born of such mothers are directly affected. In a large number of cases the affection kills the fœtus or unborn child so that abortions and still births are greatly increased thereby. Of the babies born alive many die within the first three months while others remain weak and undernourished. The child mortality among syphilitic families has been estimated at more than two times that of healthy families drawn from a similar economic and social plane. Furthermore the permanent after-effects in the form of defective eyesight, nervous disorders and mental abnormality become so serious that this form of social disease must be considered not merely as a cause of infant mortality, but as the progenitor of countless other ills of human life.

4. Analysis by U. S. Children's Bureau.

No other agency has made so careful and painstaking a study of infant mortality as the Children's Bureau. Conditions in more than half a dozen cities have been studied and details obtained both as to the physiological causes and the underlying social and economic factors. These studies enforce and establish the conclusions set forth in the preceding pages. Especially significant is the Bureau's chart showing that when

the family income averages $1250 or more the mortality is less than 60, but as income falls the rate rises until it reaches a figure of 167 for families earning less than $450 per year.

The Bureau charges the responsibility for most of the deaths in early infancy to:

Low incomes
Venereal disease of parents
Health conditions of mother during pregnancy
Unskilled assistance during confinement
Lack of care during lying-in period

Deaths from the digestive diseases are credited to neglect, mother's ignorance of proper care and feeding, and substitutes for breast feeding.

Lack of good food, of cleanliness and of fresh air and the existence of poor, ill-ventilated and overcrowded homes are held largely responsible for the respiratory diseases. The dangerous idea that quarantine against certain diseases is unwise because children will have them sometime anyway is also a factor in increasing infant mortality.

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CHAPTER V

THE MILK PROBLEM

1. Introduction.

The milk problem is constantly becoming a more important one, since a larger number of babies are being fed on milk than ever before and the danger to their health is constantly increasing. Bacteriology, however, has made possible a knowledge of the condition of milk and thus opened the way for whatever measures may be necessary for the elimination of disease germs and the production of good milk. When the connection between bad milk and disease was discovered, the cities began to consider plans for lessening the evil. The milk consumed in rural districts is usually so fresh that comparatively few bad results follow, but cities are not so favored. Accordingly, boards of health have begun to solve the problem, and are suggesting measures of control. Public opinion likewise is demanding proper protection for the babies, while private philanthropy is feebly struggling to supplement the work left undone by the state and municipal agencies.

2. Clean Milk.

Specialists now demand that all milk meet two requirements — cleanliness and proper temperature. The former is the supreme need, as without cleanliness the development of bacteria cannot be prevented. Bacteria are usually introduced from the outside and are of two kinds: first, the harmless bacteria which comprise the great majority of all the germs present and are factors in causing the milk to sour; second, the disease germs, which become a source of danger when the milk is consumed. Many diseases may be carried in this way, chief among these being scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid

fever, and especially the diseases of the digestive system. Tuberculosis also is probably carried by infected milk. In this case, however, the germ is not brought in by uncleanly processes, but is introduced into the milk at the time of its secretion.

Bacteriologists have not as yet been able to isolate disease germs in milk, but they can tell whether the bacteria are few or many. If a large number are present, it is probable that harmful germs are included. Accordingly the bacterial count—the number of bacteria per cubic centimeter—is recognized as the proper standard by which to judge milk. In spite of this if acid-forming bacteria alone have been introduced, the slides may show an enormous number; yet there will be no danger of disease. On the whole, however, the number of bacteria is usually a good indication of the fitness of the milk, which is commonly considered to be of good quality if it contains not more than 50,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter.

The principal considerations upon which clean milk depend are the following: cows must be in good condition and incapable of responding to the tuberculin test; dairymen and all persons handling the milk must be free from contagious diseases and must carry on their work with sufficient care to reduce to a minimum the amount of dirt and foreign particles in the milk; the premises as well as the cows must be kept clean to protect the milk from contamination; water free from disease germs must be used; cans, bottles, and all vessels containing milk need adequate sterilization because the bacteria lodge in the uneven surfaces of the vessels and speedily multiply in the milk; depots must maintain sanitary conditions to prevent the infection of milk; finally, the consumer must know the essential conditions under which milk will deteriorate and become dangerous food for small children.

3. Temperature.

Proper temperature is the next essential, because it is only by rapid cooling that the deterioration of milk can be retarded. In practice there are three stages in the handling of milk:

first, it is cooled at the dairy, where its temperature should be immediately reduced to not more than 50 degrees Fahrenheit and then kept at or below this figure; second, it is transported to the place of consumption, and during this time is frequently subjected to a churning process, as it is usually carried first by wagon, then by rail, and finally again by wagon. Throughout its journey the milk should be kept at a temperature of not more than 45 degrees; if it is shipped in refrigerator cars, it can be kept comparatively cool, but if ordinary freight cars are employed, this low temperature cannot be maintained. It frequently happens in the winter months that milk is collected from the dairies not oftener than every other day; consequently some of this milk will be 36 hours old before it leaves the shipping point, and since it is not distributed to the consumer till a day later it will then be 60 hours old. This long interval between the time of milking and that of distribution demonstrates the absolute necessity of keeping milk cool while in transit. Yet even in the summer months milk is sent to large cities in ordinary cars with the hot sun beating down upon the roofs, and at least half of it is more than 36 hours old when delivered to the consumer.

It sometimes happens that milk is commercially pasteurized at receiving stations in the dairy districts. Afterward this milk is mixed with other milk, and all subjected to pasteurization at the station of the dealer in the city, where preservatives are occasionally introduced, and possibly water. The milk, usually bottled after its pasteurization, is then ready for distribution.

The influence of changing temperature upon the quality of milk is demonstrated by an experiment once made in the city of Chicago. A sample of fresh milk, containing 11,500 bacteria per cubic centimeter, was divided into two equal parts labeled "A" and "B." "A" was cooled at the dairy, but only after being loaded for shipment; "B" was immediately cooled, then iced and in a condition of refrigeration was sent to the city. Both samples were delivered to dealers, and the milk

was 24 hours old when it reached the customer. The examinations showed the following results: [1]

TABLE SHOWING THE MULTIPLICATION OF BACTERIA IN MILK

AGE (HOURS)	PLACE	BACTERIA PER CUBIC CENTIMETER		
		Sample "A"	Sample "B"	Separate Test of Best Milk
0	Cow barn	11,500	11,500	3,890
3	Shipping platform	18,000	11,000	3,280
6	City platform	102,000	8,000	3,000
12	Dealer's vat	114,000	7,800	3,800
24	Delivered to consumer	1,300,000	62,000	8,400

The first set of results clearly shows that reasonably clean milk, if properly iced at once, then kept cool while in transit and in the dealer's hands, will yield a sufficiently low bacterial count to render its use entirely innocuous; while a failure to observe these precautions, especially if immediate cooling is neglected, will occasion a rapid multiplication of bacteria and render the milk unwholesome. Bulk and bottled milk as sold in the city was found to contain as many as 18,000,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter. The second experiment, the results of which are given in the last column of the table, represents the average of five tests of milk properly handled and kept. It is clearly demonstrated that clean production and proper handling will prevent the rapid growth of bacteria and lessen the danger of disease resulting from the presence and development of injurious germs. This is also shown by a comparison of bottled milk with loose milk. In some cities milk from the can is sold by grocers and other dealers. The bacterial count of this milk is usually very high, since it is not safeguarded as is milk that has been properly bottled. The fresher milk from city dairies has fewer germs than the older milk coming from the country, so the time element is an important factor. At the same time, really clean milk does not deteriorate rapidly.

[1] Report of Department of Health of Chicago, 1906, p. 15.

4. Methods of Providing Good Milk.

The problem of providing good milk for children has been answered in two ways: the one is the pasteurization of all milk so as to kill the germs; the other is the production and handling of milk under such clean conditions that raw milk will be comparatively pure and harmless. Theoretically the use of sterilized utensils and the exercise of every precaution represent the correct solution of the milk problem. These conditions being observed, the milk will contain but few germs. Pasteurization, by effecting slight chemical changes in the milk, kills the useful bacteria and weakens the power of resistance to germs. Therefore bacteria if again introduced multiply with amazing rapidity. The milk also is less digestible, and as a food is much inferior to clean raw milk, since the latter has not been subjected to injurious changes. Furthermore, pasteurization promotes carelessness and discourages efforts to produce clean milk, for it does not remove dirt from the milk, and has been opposed on the ground that, "milk cooked with the dirt in it is not so good as pure milk." Finally, many injurious germs escape destruction only to threaten the life of the child. This is especially the case with the dangerous scarlet fever germ.

The practical difficulty which the advocates of pure milk encounter is finding a feasible method of enforcing their requirements. Who will inspect the 45,000 dairies which produce the 2,500,000 quarts of milk consumed by New York City daily, and the vast quantities consumed by every large city? Who will enforce measures which will secure the precautions desired? For many years to come, inspection will not be adequate, yet clean milk is the goal of every hygienist. Success in this direction depends in part on economies in the method of production, and at present the profits of the dairy business are not so enormous as to justify any considerable increase in outlay and initial expense. If necessary costs are increased, the price of milk will probably rise; but for a large proportion of people the price is already at the maximum point; so if it be

further increased, the consumption of commercial milk must decline and an increased infant mortality follow unless philanthropy intervenes. It is probable, however, that greater cleanliness can be observed without increasing cost or prices; but the ultimate solution must depend on greater economies in production.

The advocates of pasteurization insist that their method of treating milk will kill the bacteria and provide the infant with a wholesome food. A proper system of pasteurization, involving the heating of milk to 140 degrees Fahrenheit for a period of 20 minutes, or to 150 degrees for 15 minutes, kills nearly all the harmful bacteria without resulting in serious injury to the milk, thus removing the chief single source of children's diseases. The most convincing argument for pasteurization is the absence of other practicable means for providing the infant with a reasonably good milk supply; which means that the chief hope at present for decreasing infant mortality lies in the use of pasteurized milk. Either municipal activity or the work of private philanthropies, or both, are necessary to carry out a program of pasteurization.

A combination of the two methods of solution is undoubtedly the most feasible plan of operation. If carried out, such a plan would not only save countless infant lives, but would also prepare the way for a clean milk supply. The New York Milk Conference of 1906 decided that pasteurization is not necessary if the milk is absolutely clean, and opposed a system of compulsory pasteurization, but recommended that infant milk depots supply both raw and pasteurized milk. The rapidity and facility with which germs multiply when they are reintroduced into pasteurized milk was urged as a serious objection, and therefore special stress was laid on the necessity of procuring clean milk. Experience, however, has changed the point of view, and in 1912 the Commission on Milk Standards appointed by the New York Milk Committee reported, "The Commission thinks that pasteurization is necessary for all milk at all times excepting certified milk or its equivalent.

The majority of the Commission voted in favor of the pasteurization of all milk including certified."

5. Significant Forms of Municipal Control.

Every large municipality now assumes some form of control over its milk supply. At first the purpose of such efforts was to secure better milk, not necessarily for the sake of reducing the infant mortality, but rather as a form of pure food legislation. These earlier attempts at control were therefore limited largely to the enforcement of chemical standards; that is, milk was to contain a certain percentage of butter fats, of solids, not fats, and it was not to contain preservatives. By means of a chemical analysis the milk was tested for preservatives, especially for formaldehyde, and if found unfit was rejected. The infant mortality, however, is hardly affected by the improvements occasioned by such work.

Recently reduction of the death rate has become the prime consideration and the efforts of cities aim to promote the cleanliness of milk, a policy, however, that involves a rather complex program. One of the most important innovations is the bacteriological examination of the milk, to determine its relative purity. The natural sequence of the work of the laboratory is the establishment of a bacteriological standard to which milk must conform, otherwise it will be considered unfit for food. The next step has been the inspection of the dairies themselves. At first only dairies within the city limits were inspected, but gradually the work was carried on into the country districts which supply the city's milk. In addition, stringent regulations are now being enacted such as the following: the proper pasteurization of all commercial milk; the prohibition of double pasteurization; confiscation of all condemned milk; dairies limited to cows that have been tuberculin tested; and the careful limitation of the sale of unbottled milk. The cost of improving the milk supply has in some instances prevented cities from aggressive action; political interference has also operated to hinder effective work; and the dairy interests themselves have proved a powerful obstacle.

a. The Experience of Rochester, New York.

Rochester, New York, was one of the first American cities to make a determined attempt to reduce its infant mortality through an improvement of the milk supply. The former excessive death rate among children under five years of age called for an explanation, unclean milk being eventually charged with the responsibility. Accordingly, under the very able direction of Dr. George W. Goler, Health Officer of the city, notable experiments were made. Dr. Goler found that "the stables were dirty, festooned with cobwebs, and badly drained; the surroundings, sinks of mud and cow manure; the utensils dirty, often containing layers of sour milk with an admixture of countless millions of bacteria; and the milk itself so imperfectly cared for and badly cooled that it often soured before reaching the consumer." To revolutionize these conditions seemed almost an impossibility, especially without raising the price of milk, which in the early stages of the propaganda appeared undesirable.

The first step taken was the pasteurization of the milk used by the poor children—the most feasible method at the time. During the summer of 1897 two milk stations were established, each with a trained nurse in charge. The stations were humble establishments provided with very simple furniture, but contained the needed equipment. The best milk obtainable was secured, and after modification to suit four different age periods of the baby was pasteurized at 180 degrees Fahrenheit for twenty minutes. This milk was placed in bottles of four different sizes, to correspond to the ages of the children, and was then retailed at cost to the mothers.

The purpose of the work, as will be seen, was to accomplish two reforms: first, to secure a cleaner milk supply; second, to educate mothers in infant care and management, and in the proper use of food. An initial step in the organization of the work was the conference with the mother, who was often ignorant of the proper methods of caring for her children. At the time of her first purchase of milk the mother was required

to appear at the station and to bring her baby with her for examination. A milk combination suited to the needs of the child was prescribed by the physician or nurse, the baby was weighed, and the mother was instructed in regard to the changing needs of the child. In addition, a pamphlet, containing advice on the care of babies, printed in various languages so as to meet the lingual conditions of the city, was distributed among the mothers.

For two years the work was carried on as described above, and the number of stations was increased to four. The results were apparent in a reduced death rate for children under five and in better care of the surviving ones. The pasteurization of impure milk was, however, unsatisfactory to the authorities, and it was therefore abandoned for the policy of striving to secure milk originally pure and wholesome and consequently fit food for babies. This reform required the production of milk under clean and sanitary conditions, so in 1899 a central milk station was established on a dairy farm. Owing to the precautions taken by the farmer, and the complete sterilization of all milk utensils, pasteurization was then abandoned and the raw milk was apportioned to the stations located in the city. In order to educate producers the central station was located on a different farm each succeeding year, and as a result the influence of this rotation extended far beyond the dairy directly affected. This aggressive method of providing the poor with good milk was supplemented by vigorous inspection of all dairies contributing to the city milk supply. A well-developed system of marking and grading dairy conditions, as well as the milk placed on the market, was also established. All resulted in better standards among the dairy farmers; better milk was therefore provided for the babies, and the quality for the entire city was improved. Strict regulations were adopted, the use of preservatives was forbidden, dairymen were required to report certain contagious and infectious diseases in the family or among the helpers, and the license to sell milk in the city was made revocable if the law was violated.

The results of a ten-year program are shown in the effects on the mortality rates. During the ten years ending with 1896 the deaths from the digestive diseases among children under five numbered 7451, but the total for the ten years following was only 4865 or a decline of over one-third in absolute numbers, although the city was constantly growing. Equally significant was the result of the numerous campaigns. July and August of the former decade contributed 2297 deaths, but of the following decade only 1143, or a little less than one-half of the previous figure.[1] These results began to prove the contention of health officers and social workers that the high rates during the summer months could be largely avoided and that ignorance, carelessness and dirty milk were the outstanding factors with which it was necessary to cope at that time of the year.

It is hardly to be expected that a demonstration in the possibilities of a public health program such as this can continue to be uniformly successful. It was a much more difficult problem then than it became later because the public had not been schooled to the viewpoint that interference with industry was justifiable even though such interference was necessary to safeguard health and lessen the number of infant deaths. While this crusade was carried on, it constantly met with the opposition of certain private interests; politics also was injected, and a strenuous effort made to undermine the work. As a consequence, the city has progressed less rapidly in recent years. As a pioneer, however, its work cannot be too highly praised. Other cities now see the light, and if they surpass Rochester in their splendid work, it is because the needs are great and the work efficient.

b. New York City.

Among the large cities whose preventive work deserves attention is New York. During the years 1885-1919 (inclusive) its infant mortality fell nearly 68 per cent or more than two-

[1] See Goler, Geo. But a Thousand a Year. *Charities and Commons.* April, 1907. Supplement.

thirds and the reduction in the death rate from diarrhœal diseases was over 80 per cent. The greatest gains have been made since the formation of the Division of Child Hygiene in 1908.

The city has evolved an excellent milk code. Pasteurization which must be carried on under a special permit from the board of health, is now compulsory, except for one variety of grade A milk. The bottles must be labeled and the day and hour of pasteurization given. Milk may not be kept more than 36 hours after pasteurization and by that time it must be in the hands of the consumer. Furthermore no second pasteurization is allowed. There are rigid rules against storing milk in sleeping rooms or unsanitary places. Milk offered for sale must be publicly classified as to quality and labeled accordingly. Condemned milk may be destroyed and its vendors prosecuted. The process of pasteurization is defined as the heating of milk to a temperature of 142 degrees Fahrenheit for a period of thirty minutes or more. Milk may not be shipped into the city nor graded until the source of supply has been approved.

New York City has spent much effort in the wearisome task of securing an adequate inspection of dairies. The city receives milk from six or more states, but inspectors from New York have no power to coerce dairymen in any other state; nor even in New York, which contains 80 per cent of the dairies sending milk to the city; yet some form of coercion is necessary. This is secured in the following way: first, a group of officials is detailed to inspect milk after it is brought to the city and to decide upon its quality and cleanliness, and if found unfit for food, it is rejected, and the dairyman who produced it is no longer permitted to ship his milk to the city. An effective check upon unsanitary methods of production can thus be exercised by the inspectors who perform their work within the city itself. Second, traveling inspectors who are authorized to visit the dairies. Although they are without direct power, they can threaten to order the city authorities to prohibit a recalcitrant dairyman from sending his disqualified milk to

the city, and thus they compel him to improve the conditions under which his milk is produced. The system of scoring dairies as worked out by the federal government is used, and by means of this elaborate system of grading, the comparative standing of each dairyman visited can be placed on record. Doubtful producers can be more carefully followed, and if necessary their product can be rejected. The chief obstacle to adequate inspection is the physical impossibility of supervising the dairies and of visiting them with sufficient frequency to ascertain whether the standards are being maintained.

c. Other Cities.

Boston, which receives milk from 7000 dairies in several states, has an elaborate system of inspection in which it uses the United States score card and tries to secure inspection of each dairy at least three times a year. At first 45 per cent of the dairies were found in an unsatisfactory condition, but this proportion has not only been reduced to 5 per cent, but the city has also established a bacteriological standard for its milk—500,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter. Frequent tests are made, and nearly 90 per cent of the milk examined is well within the standard adopted. Most other regulations only duplicate those mentioned as existing elsewhere. In Washington milk is graded on the basis of perfection in regard to such points as dairy equipment, health of cows, dairy methods, nutritive value of milk and bacteriological condition. The last point counts one-third. The grades of the dealers' milk are published monthly and consumers may exercise the option of buying good or inferior milk as they please. The various grades often differ radically from each other, for example, a random list fixes the lowest grade for a certain summer month at 38.6 and the highest (excluding certified milk) at 92.1. Dairy men must procure permits and their dairies are subject to inspection without notice. An attempt is made to use trained dairymen who come as educators rather than spies, but the city maintains the right to revoke licenses.

Pasteurization has been made compulsory in many large

cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Buffalo and Minneapolis, or compulsory for all, except certified or a Grade A quality, milk as in Baltimore, Newark and Detroit. Some cities require pasteurization of milk coming from cows not tested for tuberculosis or not known to be free from tuberculosis.

Two bureaus in the Department of Agriculture have collaborated in formulating a standard ordinance to guide cities in their control of the milk supply. This draft provides for certified, Grade A, and Grade B milk, but no other grades. Pasteurization is to be compulsory for the last but optional for the other two. The minimum temperature for pasteurization is fixed at 142 degrees. The sale of milk containing, or exposed to, disease-producing bacteria is prohibited. Vendors must have permits and these may under certain conditions be revoked. Finally dealers may not refuse to sell samples to official collectors.

d. Effects of Inspection on Disease.

A very wholesome effect of persistent inspection of the milk supply is the detection of contagious diseases along the route, and the immediate stoppage of the milk sent from the sources of contamination. By means of a telltale register the infected milk is discovered. Whenever a case of contagious disease is reported, it is charged to the particular dairy of which the diseased person is a patron, and if other cases can be similarly charged, an investigation is instituted. In case the source of contagion can be definitely traced to an offending dairy, the dairy is closed till the danger is passed. Epidemics of scarlet fever, typhoid fever, diphtheria, and even of smallpox have been effectually checked in this way. The danger from scarlet fever especially can thus be largely minimized.

6. State Control.

It is gradually becoming clear that cities cannot deal adequately with the milk problem. Their work must be supplemented if not largely superseded by that of the state. Cities have no political jurisdiction outside of their corporate limits,

yet most milk is produced in the rural districts. The states, however, have power to regulate milk production and to enforce their rules. Furthermore the carrying out of a state system of control would lessen the burden now borne by those cities drawing their supply from the same community. Nor should the city be compelled to use its income for the training and education of dairymen. That function belongs to the state and should be more generally assumed. The beginnings, however, have been made; for example a majority of states have established chemical standards for milk and a small number have added bacteriological standards. These standards in some instances are comparatively low. Even then the service is merely educational and violations are not generally punished.

Five states have enacted laws requiring the pasteurization of commercial milk, but several of these exempt milk from herds free from tuberculosis. An exemption implies that milk from slightly infected cows may be marketed, provided it has been properly pasteurized. The state machinery for the enforcement of these laws has not generally been adequately developed and much depends on the vigilance of local authorities. Many states provide for the tuberculin test and as a consequence diseased cattle are being greatly reduced in number. Thirteen states also have adopted standards for pasteurization temperatures.

Much can be done by the various state colleges of agriculture to improve the milk supply. Through their extension work they can educate the dairymen and the farmers in the standards of milk production, and by emphasizing the relation to disease they can also develop a public conscience on the duty of the proper handling of the milk supply.

7. Classification of Dairy Milk.

In recent years a grade of milk known as "certified milk" has been introduced. This is a copyrighted term, and the label cannot be used unless permission is granted by the commission controlling its use. The milk must be produced under conditions which will insure its cleanliness and a very low bacterial

count without being subjected to pasteurization. "Certified milk" should not contain more than 10,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter. A dairy must apply for the label, and if, after subsequent inspection, a favorable report is given, the use of the term may be granted, but this right may be withdrawn whenever the milk carrying the label fails to meet the requirements. On account of the drastic conditions imposed, few dairies sell "certified milk," but the number is constantly increasing. This milk, which costs the consumer about 50 per cent more than ordinary milk, is not within the reach of the poor, but it can be afforded by a large portion of the middle class, among whom it finds its chief clientele.

For practical purposes other commercial milk may be divided into various grades. The bacterial count, pasteurization, cleanliness, and freedom from disease-producing bacteria are the chief considerations which determine this classification. A good illustration is afforded by the gradations adopted by the New York City Department of Health. They are as follows:

Grade A. (For infants and children).

(1) Raw. This milk may not contain more than 30,000 bacteria when delivered to the consumer. Such delivery shall be within 36 hours of production. The cows must be healthy and tuberculin tested at least once each year.

(2) Pasteurized. This milk must come from healthy cows which are regularly tested. The bottle must carry a label giving name of dealer, day and hour of pasteurization. Other standards are similar to those for raw milk.

Grade B. (For adults.)

(1) Pasteurized. Must come from healthy cows and shall not contain more than 100,000 bacteria, nor before pasteurization have contained more than 1,500,000. It must be delivered to the consumer within 48 hours of pasteurization and must also carry an appropriate label.

Grade C. (For cooking and manufacturing purposes only.)

This milk is expected to come from healthy cows and must be regularly pasteurized. It must not contain an excessive

number of bacteria, but no standards are established. Delivery must be made within 48 hours and a white label describing the character of the milk shall be used.

8. Modified Milk.

In 1891 a Walker-Gordon laboratory was established in Boston, and since then these laboratories have sprung up in large numbers. Their purpose is to prepare modified milk suited to the needs of the individual child, but no two modifications are alike, as each one is made according to the physician's order. This milk, which is sold on a purely commercial basis, costs two or three times the price of ordinary milk, so its use is confined to the children of the wealthy classes and is quite beyond the financial reach of the poor. Made from the cleanest milk obtainable, it serves its limited field most successfully.

Modified milk is also prepared by various philanthropic agencies. A milk of good quality is chosen; then modifications are made according to a number of formulæ, each of which is presumably adapted to some age period of the infant. The modified milk is then pasteurized and sold at cost or less. It is intended for the poor, to whom it is ordinarily distributed from milk stations established for the purpose.

9. Milk Depots.

In 1892 Dr. Budin of France, moved by the numberless deaths of babies among the poor, devised a plan of education for the mothers. He established an institution designated a "Consultation de Nourissons," where he attempted to reduce infant mortality according to the following plans: [1] first, by encouraging breast feeding as far as possible; second, by giving sterilized milk if necessary; third, by supplementing maternal milk with good cow's milk, if the former was insufficient; fourth, by making systematic observations of each infant in order to note its progress.

Institutions of this kind have attained considerable success in persuading mothers to nurse their children. In two years

[1] Heath, Llewellyn, *The Infant, the Parent, the State*, p. 142.

one of them increased the percentage of infants who were breast fed from 22 to 77. Many such stations have been established in France.

Another form of institution known as the "goutte de lait," begun in France in 1894, provided modified cow's milk to infants who needed to be artificially fed. Each infant received the special modification needed, and was also given regular medical examination. This type of agency has become the more popular; it has spread all over France, and has been copied by cities throughout Western Europe.

In the United States the milk depot has played a large part in the campaign for the reduction of infant mortality. Although not the first ones, the Straus milk depots established in New York City in 1893 gave the impetus to similar work elsewhere. These depots sold pasteurized and modified milk at less than cost price, so they had to be supported by private philanthropy. They have undoubtedly been a large factor in the reduction of infant death rates in that city. Later when their founder failed to continue his support, the Straus depots were replaced by the milk stations doing a similar work. Every large American city now has milk depots which are operated by private philanthropy, but in 1920 the New York City Department of Health maintained 55 such stations in addition to the ones under the direction of private societies. The necessity of providing good milk whether from commercial or philanthropic sources is gradually receiving general recognition. Many organizations now teach their clients directly how to modify milk. This plan should be extended as much as possible.

In a typical milk station modified pasteurized milk is provided for poor mothers. Usually modifications, such as already noted, are made, and the milk is then sold at or below cost, and a small amount may even be given away. It is ordinarily withheld, except on the prescription of a physician. If the mother can nurse her baby, she is always urged to do so.

An auxiliary feature of some of the milk depots is the babies'

clinic, where infants are examined by the physician in charge, or, in his absence, by a trained nurse. As already explained in connection with the experience of Rochester, the baby is weighed, his case is carefully diagnosed, milk of the proper modification is prescribed, the mother is instructed as to the best method of feeding, and is ordered to bring the child to the depot whenever the physician finds this necessary. The condition of the mother and her ability to care for the child are noted, and in numerous cases the trained nurse is detailed to visit the homes of the babies to supplement the work of the mother. Such efforts have a cumulative effect, since mothers communicate their experience to other women, who in turn profit from the knowledge obtained. This form of education is definitely bound up with the milk depot, but other methods of instruction, which will be considered later, are also employed. A third feature is the visiting nurse who goes to the homes. In so far as her work consists of instruction as to the care of milk, or its proper modification, her service is one of the necessary steps in securing good milk for babies. In so far as it is educative along other lines, it will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

Milk stations are usually placed in localities which are in greatest need of their services; accordingly, a knowledge of conditions in each community should precede the establishment of the station. Then mothers should learn of the existence of the depots. In New York City, mothers of babies under three months of age, living within six blocks of a public station, are notified of its presence, and informed of its work. As many of the mothers are of foreign birth and are ignorant of the English language, specialized effort is necessary to reach them. Some milk stations operate throughout the year, but the majority are open only during the summer months.

The service center with its broad program for both infants and pre-school children is rapidly supplanting the milk station. Furthermore, the emphasis on nutrition stimulated by the ascertained values of the various vitamines will greatly

modify and improve the work done in behalf of small children. It is no longer largely a problem of reducing infant mortality; as the welfare center is interested in the physical and mental possibilities of each of its tiny patrons.

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CHAPTER VI

METHODS OF PREVENTIVE WORK

1. Encouragement of Maternal Feeding.

If cow's milk were the only substitute for nature's food, the reduction of infant mortality would be far simpler than it is; but milk substitutes and other foods are used. Although bottle-feeding causes a high infant death rate, the use of substitutes for milk is far more dangerous. While a return to maternal feeding is desirable, serious obstacles sometimes present themselves. For example, pregnancies occur, and these necessitate the weaning of the child; again, ill-health or disease may intervene; besides, many mothers are obliged to enter industry, and cannot afford to nurse their babies. Furthermore, well-to-do mothers frequently do not wish to undergo the inconvenience which the care of babies involves. Many infants unable to digest any other than liquid food must therefore be fed upon cow's milk or other substitutes for their mother's milk. In the poorer districts in particular we find babies fed upon pickles, bananas, crackers, cheese, and salt-pork, etc. Needless to say, their tiny overworked stomachs are unequal to the task of assimilation.

However, an effort must be made to return to the policy of maternal feeding. This principle was recognized in France in 1876, when a society was formed whose object was to aid mothers so that they might continue to nurse their babies, and which also disseminated knowledge as to the desirability of wet nursing. Under such teaching, France has witnessed a widespread return to the old and venerable method of feeding babies on breast milk. In the United States the principle is universally accepted by medical agencies, and our milk stations

likewise insist that the mother do her utmost to nurse the baby, modified milk being prescribed only as a last resort. More and more, physicians are urging middle class mothers to nurse their babies instead of resorting to bottle-feeding.

On the other hand, many infants fed upon mother's milk suffer and waste away. Consequences of this sort are an indication that the mother is physically unfit to nurse her child. Under these conditions, breast-feeding should be abandoned unless the mother is able to recuperate so that the child will begin to thrive and become a healthy, vigorous infant. It is clear that many instances clearly justify the use of cow's milk. In France, again, a part of the remedial work consists in providing the mother with food and in restoring her health and vigor so as to enable her to nurse her baby. Poverty is usually responsible, at least in part, for the mother's ill-health; consequently with the development of a more generous relief policy, the food provided for mothers will be more nearly adequate, and they can fit themselves for this most important duty. At present we insist that they work at some gainful occupation so as to reduce necessary relief, and as a result they are unfitted for the work of nursing. This difficulty is constantly faced by nurses engaged in postnatal care, but reform is slow, and a long time must elapse before the question can be solved. Public lectures discussing the dangers of artificial foods and presenting other subjects related to the care of babies should be given to mothers at club-meetings, settlements, milk-stations, public school buildings, playgrounds, and other gathering places. Some departments of health are now actually attempting this method of instruction, and private philanthropy has likewise carried on a limited amount of such education.

2. Prenatal Work.

Apart from the unavoidable use of contaminated and overheated milk, the ignorance of parents is the chief point of attack in lessening infant mortality, but ignorance is caused by poverty and poverty is caused by ignorance, so this evil

is not a simple one. Efforts to eliminate poverty must be continued, but the reduction of infant death rates cannot be delayed until poverty is abolished; so immediate action is necessary to educate parents in reference to this one question. Among the poorest classes, knowledge as to the feeding of babies is very meager; little is known of the invigorating and curative properties of fresh air, the value of an outing for the baby is not appreciated, and open windows are viewed with horror and dread, and the importance of proper clothing and of frequent bathing is unknown. Many babies are still bundled into swaddling clothes, much to their grief and discomfort, and thousands are not dressed according to the season. In the large cities, children may be seen on cold February days clad in the frailest of garments, and in July almost suffocating from a superabundance of clothing. Foreign mothers especially, unused to the range of our climatic conditions, fail to accommodate their children to the varying requirements and serious results must naturally follow.

Such facts as these indicate the need of enlightening mothers. Some of the large cities require the registration of all births, and send a circular of information to the mother of every newly born infant. They usually send instructions in the language of the mother, or in several languages, but very little attention is paid to information proffered in this way. The circulars are doubted or discredited, and unless the human element enters, little is accomplished. Unless some person actually impresses the facts directly on the minds of mothers, the effort is largely wasted.

In view of the ignorance of mothers which results in an excessive number of still-births and an infant mortality especially heavy in the first few months of life, instruction should be given to prospective, as well as to actual, mothers. To meet this need prenatal work has been introduced. It was first attempted in New York City in 1908, and the woman's Municipal League of Boston began the work in that city in 1909. Since then a limited amount of prenatal work has been

attempted in other cities, including Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Milwaukee.[1]

The method of prenatal care is comparatively simple. Women come independently or by invitation after the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy to the dispensary, where their cases are carefully diagnosed and their history examined. Perhaps a little instruction is sufficient; perhaps they are asked to report at regular intervals to receive additional care and advice. In many cases this is not sufficient, and nurses are sent to the homes to complete the instruction. The principal subjects covered are the following: food and diet, which should be intelligently regulated both as to amount and kind; proper clothing, which will impede as little as possible the free movement of the body; work and exercise, much advice being needed to distinguish clearly the difference in effect between work and exercise and to convince women of the beneficial effects of the latter; indications of ill health, so that if any morbid condition exists, the services of the dispensary can be offered, and the condition can be corrected; household sanitation, since bad conditions can often be easily remedied and headaches and other bodily ailments be avoided.

After several months of instruction prospective mothers learn that they are feeling better, they become more cheerful and are much better prepared to undergo the ordeal of confinement.

They receive care and attention at this time and as a consequence maternal mortality is greatly reduced and the danger of childbirth considerably lessened. Mothers by escaping serious after-effects are better prepared to care properly for their babies and particularly to nurse them in the trying days of their early existence. In order to be effective the work of supervision must be carried on for some time after the birth of the child. This period should consist of at least one month and in special cases must be much longer. Usually so called prenatal work is also in part postnatal work. The statistics

[1] See "Work for Expectant Mothers in Certain American Cities," by Ellen C. Babbitt. *Woman's Medical Journal*, January, 1913.

relating to this subject are still comparatively meager but are constantly growing. Among the earlier figures are those for the work carried on by the New York Milk Committee. As a consequence of its work the mortality of infants during the first month of life was reduced by one-third and an almost similar reduction in the proportion of still births was effected. The statistics for Boston indicated a saving of over three-fourths of the young infant lives; while those for St. Louis, although less favorable also proved the value of prenatal work.

The results obtained more recently in a number of cities have been analyzed and a summary is presented in the following table.[1]

CITY	NO. OF CASES	RATIO OF MORTALITY IN GIVEN PERIOD TO RATE FOR CITY OR FOR COMPARABLE GROUPS	RATIO OF STILL BIRTHS TO RATE FOR CITY
Boston	2765	40.0	54.5
Brooklyn	1002	53.6	71.4
"	1000	33.4	33.4
New York	4683	26.5	...
" "	4496	42.0	50.0 +
Chicago	622	50.0	...
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company study	....	25.0	26.6

Most of these figures speak eloquently in behalf of a system of prenatal care. In nearly every case the infant mortality has been reduced to less than one-half of the normal figure. Most of these gains, of course, represent a reduction in the death rate from diseases of early infancy. In considering these figures, it should also be remembered that the usual death rate among the groups is much higher than that for the entire city. As a consequence the gains made are, in most instances, considerably larger than the percentages indicated. In other words the figures showing the ratios should be smaller than they actually are. The study made by the Metropolitan Life

[1] *Prenatal Care in Chicago.* Published by Chicago Community Trust.

Insurance Company yields the most favorable results and gives the best evidence of the amount of preventable mortality. These figures are based on the outcome of the most carefully made experiments and therefore indicate rather striking gains. They prove that the great bulk of deaths from congenital debility and prematurity can be prevented.

Similar results are obtained in a reduction of the proportion of still-births. Such births should be considered as potential human lives and not discarded as inevitable losses. As birth rates decline, this problem increases in importance. That environmental factors working through the prospective mother have menaced the life of many a child is now well known. The partial elimination of miscarriages and of still-births represents no small part of the beneficence of methods of prenatal care.

3. Infant and Child Welfare Centers and Visiting Nurse Work.

Milk stations have been supplemented and in many cases supplanted with welfare stations. The emphasis to-day is not on service to the sick, but on service to prevent sickness. The experience of Huddersfield, England, in 1904 foreshadowed the possibilities of welfare work under the guidance of the public health nurse. The later developments in New Zealand added further proof and the work of American settlements and welfare associations finally demonstrated the definite advantages of infant welfare centers. These should be sufficiently numerous to make it possible to reach all babies not under the care of a private physician. According to the standard proposed by the Federal Children's Bureau there should be one public health nurse for a population of 2,000. Part of the work of a center consists in health instructions to mothers and in teaching how to care and feed babies, with special emphasis on breast feeding. Babies should be given rigid physical and medical examinations, be weighed, measured and their growth and development noted. Mothers should also be taught standards in regard to the clothing, rest and cleanliness of babies.

The service at the center must be supplemented with visits to the home. These should be made by a socially trained nurse or medical social service worker.

Conditions in the home often neutralize the effect of the service in the center; as a consequence efforts must be made to make home conditions positive in character. It may be necessary to institute a complete program of social service. In consequence of this fact the visitor must have definite knowledge concerning the social service agencies at work in the community and must work out coöperative plans with them. Problems of housing, bad environment, poverty, illiteracy, ignorance of English and employment can be solved only by means of painstaking methods of coöperation and service.

The number of welfare centers is rapidly increasing and many public nurses are now being prepared for the work. Both public and private agencies are engaged in this field of service. In recent years, however, the public agencies have begun to assume the leadership. In many cities a municipal nurse corps has been established under the department of health, or as in St. Louis directly under a nurses' board. In the future the chief reliance must be on the municipal service. The school nurses may often be used during the summer months for service in the field of infant welfare and even during the rest of the year their work touches this field.

The private organizations are still hard at work and in many cities there is a visiting nurse association maintained by private philanthropy. If there is no comparable public group, the burden falls on these associations. Otherwise an acceptable division of labor is usually arranged. Charity organization societies, anti-tuberculosis associations, settlements, dispensaries and the Red Cross in many cases still employ nurses for visiting work and although the work of such nurses is general in character much is done for infants and small children.

The sick baby must also be cared for. There must be adequate clinic and hospital service, both for mothers and babies.

The children's hospital is an important institution, but an extended program of home care is also necessary. The visiting physician is an indispensability in many communities, particularly in the smaller towns and rural regions. This official must not be a mere political appointee, but an efficient servant with a social vision and a keen desire to improve our community welfare. The visiting nurse cannot avoid bed-side work and must also minister to the sick. For some time to come the care of many sick in their homes will continue and serve as the alternative for hospital care.

4. The Day Nursery.

The day nursery has a limited value in educating mothers, but the total number of children cared for at the nurseries is insignificant compared with the absolute number of children who are in need of more intelligent care. The nursery is patronized almost exclusively by women who work away from home, yet thousands of mothers do not enter the gainful occupations, and the influence of the nursery does not reach them. This influence usually operates through the children, who are daily fed and cared for, and who reflect at home the conditions and high standards of the nursery. Indirectly, therefore, the nursery transforms the life and ideals of a limited number of homes, but its work as a child-saving agency has not yet reached its full development. Its direct beneficiaries are, however, limited to small children, and the infant gains only indirectly from the new ideals established in the homes.

5. Education of Girls and Boys.

Our educational system needs revision, and the school curriculum must be made to conform more nearly to the actual requirements of our complex life of to-day. Our emphasis upon literary education is gradually being displaced by an insistence upon training which will equip the growing boy and girl for industrial and trade opportunities. The economic needs are being supplied, but the social aspects of education have not received sufficient encouragement. Girls are usually kept ignorant of the significance of maternity, and receive

little instruction relating thereto. They are usually required to learn everything in the school of experience. The immature girl also suffers because of her youth, statistics showing that early marriages yield a higher infant mortality than do later ones. If the mother is under 20, the infant death rate, particularly from the diarrhœal diseases, is excessive. A limited investigation in Chicago among the families of immigrants indicates a higher death rate in the larger than in the smaller families. Since ignorance as well as spent energies contributes to this result, the public schools must face this problem and train our children for the varied duties of life. Our young men and young women must learn more about the requirements and needs of the home and of home life. Domestic science, the art of housekeeping, proper uses of food, the importance of cleanliness, hygiene, sanitation, infant care and management, and other items of value should become part of the instruction of every young woman. Such instruction is so fundamental that it should rank as a most important preventive measure.

Domestic science must soon form part of the curriculum in every elementary school. It should be made compulsory for every girl in the seventh and eighth grades, and the amount of ground covered during these two grades ought to be sufficient to enable a young woman to learn all the rudiments necessary to begin a home on an intelligent basis. A very large percentage of public school pupils leave school before they reach these grades, many going at the end of the fifth year, while the loss during the sixth year is also very heavy. Provision of some kind for these children is also imperative, for it is precisely this class that swells the aggregate of undesirable elements in our large cities. Compulsory education will reach all who are not over-aged, but the latter form a special problem and cannot be neglected. Either they must be given the training in special classes, or they must be held at school until they have had the needed training. The group of girls most in need of the training afforded by domestic science and household

economy are least liable to be reached by the present halting methods of instruction. The majority of cities have done little for the cause of domestic science, and therefore the chief cause of ignorance of household economy still remains. Domestic science in the high school should be encouraged, and it will be a source of pleasure and of profit to the high school girl. Instruction in this branch, however, does not benefit the children of the poor, because they do not reach the high school; and effective preventive work for the child of the coming generation can be performed only by educating the girl and boy who are most in need of the training which these branches will yield. The introduction of such courses into the secondary schools will only touch the better classes and will affect less than 10 per cent of all the people. Our schools are strangely lacking in their provisions for instruction in household economy, and the need of reform is urgent and immediate.

In the larger cities many babies are really cared for a large share of the time by their older sisters. These "little mothers" are usually ignorant of the principles of baby care and are therefore quite precarious caretakers. In New York City the Department of Health, realizing that for many years this practice could continue, decided to instruct the children. Accordingly a lecture on baby care is given in every public school in the city in May of each year, and little mothers' leagues are formed among girls over twelve years of age. These leagues continue the study of child care, and in 1920 over 200 leagues were organized, with a membership of 15,000 girls. The leagues met weekly for twelve weeks, during which time they covered an entire course on the principles of baby care. Valuable as this work is in guiding the little mother in her daily task, it will have still more value when she becomes a real mother. We can well afford to utilize school buildings for this purpose.

Boys likewise need additional training, especially in home hygiene and sanitation. The value of nature's curative forces and regenerative agencies must be taught in order to give

the boy a proper appreciation of the danger and injury incident to unsanitary housing conditions. The uses of fresh air, the germ-destroying power of sunlight, the effects of contamination of air, the influence of gases, standards in regard to sufficient air space, and other necessary knowledge relating to proper housing conditions must be effectually taught to all young boys. The meager knowledge of these subjects gained at present in the study of physiology is entirely insufficient, and an extension along the lines indicated is necessary; otherwise the instruction must be given as a separate branch of the work of the school. Whatever be the course followed, it must be judged from the standpoint of efficiency. The knowledge which makes for better homes and more sanitary houses, and which will accordingly save the lives of thousands of babies, must be acquired before the homes are formed and before babies are born. If this is not done, children will always be the victims of ignorance and neglect.

The evening school, with its classes in appropriate subjects for both young men and young women, and the classes formed in settlements and other institutions which strive to meet this deficiency in the education of the child, reach a small number of persons only and cannot adequately meet the situation. Furthermore, this work is or should be considered a mere temporary expedient, to be abandoned when the elementary schools expand their functions so as to include home science among the subjects taught. A temporary expansion of the work of these classes should be cordially welcomed, because the public school does not now meet the needs of a large bulk of our growing youth, and many anticipated reforms are not yet being realized.

6. Prevention of Overcrowding.

Fatalities among children depend in part on the bad housing conditions of a city. Overcrowding may take one of the following forms: first, an enormous number of persons may live on a single acre; again, many families may live in a single house or tenement; third, a large number of persons may be

crowded into a single flat or group of rooms, this latter form being by far the most dangerous one. It is an appalling fact that the three-room apartment is the most common form of housing for the large families of the poor, while two-room apartments are also amazingly frequent. In England an average of more than two persons per room is considered overcrowding, but in New York City the informal standard is 1½ persons per room. Owing to the small rooms in its tenements this standard is not entirely adapted to other cities, but if the sexes are to be separated, it will hold. A tremendous amount of overcrowding does exist in American cities.

The density per acre may be very heavy, yet the conditions under which the individual families live accord with all the demands of sanitation and cleanliness. Tenement houses well cared for and well inspected by the city authorities may house a dense population without special injury or excessive suffering to the indwellers. This is particularly true if houses are built according to the best modern models. In actual practice, however, a heavy per acre density is usually associated with tenement house conditions of the worst type, the size of the families of the better classes being uniformly smaller and the families themselves refusing to submit to such crowding. Congestion invariably means poor conditions and inadequate equipment.

Investigations have made quite plain the following proposition in regard to the effects of crowding: first, the mortality of a population increases as the density per acre is increased, and is considerably higher when a very heavy density obtains: second, mortality is much less if single tenements only are built upon the lots than if front and rear tenements exist. Statistics for New York City (old) and for St. Louis show that the mortality of children under five was nearly twice as high in the latter type of buildings. Third, mortality varies inversely according to the number of rooms per apartment. English figures have shown that the one-room apartment is nearly twice as fatal as the four-room apartment. This form

of overcrowding is by far the most dangerous to life and health, as it is directly related to the problem of adequate air space, especially for sleeping purposes. It also prevents the enjoyment of sufficient sunlight and ventilation. It is especially under such conditions that a large infant mortality ensues, because it becomes impossible to provide the child with a sufficient amount of nature's curative forces and properties. It has been shown that in Vienna, Austria, when 8 per cent of the population was overcrowded, the mortality increased more than 100 per cent above the normal, and that all overcrowding was accompanied by a high rate of mortality.[1]

The noxious influence of overcrowding upon the life and health of the young child is well known. There remains only the problem of ascertaining the precise influence of this factor in order that our cities may become more resolute in providing and demanding sufficient air and room. Reform in housing conditions, including the building of wholesome tenements, is urgently needed, as well as insistence upon better conditions in and about the two-family houses, especially in regard to plumbing, sewage, garbage disposal, closets, etc.

7. Prevention of Employment of Married Women.

An additional method of lessening our infant mortality consists in reducing the number of married women employed in factories, offices, and mercantile establishments. In 1900 the total number of married women in the United States engaged in the gainful occupations was 769,477 or 5.6 per cent of the entire number of married women. Although a small number, it represented an increase of 1 per cent in the proportion of married women at work when compared with the census of 1890. Since then a rapid increase has taken place and the census of 1920 reported the proportion as 9 per cent and the number as 1,920,281. This gain is due largely to the influx of those immigrant groups among whom the lot of woman has been unfavorable and unpleasant.

The investigations of infant mortality made by the Federal

[1] Bailey, W. B., *Modern Social Conditions*, p. 323.

Children's Bureau indicate most clearly the serious effect on the mortality rate of employment by the mother whether immediately before the birth of the child or during the nursing period. A typical example is that of New Bedford where the mortality rate of infants born to mothers who were gainfully employed away from home during the year immediately preceding the advent of the child was 54 per cent greater than among the babies whose mothers had not been so employed. Again in Fall River, where a large number of married women work in the cotton mills, the infant death rates from diarrhœa and enteritis are exceedingly heavy.

Several American states have enacted legislation to protect working women at the time of childbirth. In some European countries women are forbidden by law to work in industrial establishments for a period of from four to six weeks after childbirth, but the Swiss law prohibits women from such work for two weeks before and six weeks after. In the United States, women do not wish to work until the last hour and employers ordinarily do not allow it. The foreign mothers, however, are aggravating the problem, and conditions in this respect must be carefully watched. Furthermore, overwork in the home is also frequently disastrous, the expectant mother not being in a position to consider the needs of the child. Prenatal and postnatal work may result in better care of self and of baby, but the pressure of poverty is not relieved thereby. Laws such as those enacted in European countries may improve conditions, though they do not solve the problem.

8. Provisions for Fresh Air.

The fierce summer heat not only spoils milk but affects babies directly, so illness is aggravated and mortality much increased. One method of escape from heat is the summer outing, but the poor unfortunately can hardly get away from home. Perhaps they can afford a day or two. Sometimes a private organization, like the St. John's Guild of New York City, with its floating hospital, brings the fresh air to a mother

and her sick baby. Sometimes the outing farms and convalescent homes are very helpful to the needy by taking weak and sickly children and placing them in the cool fresh country, where after a week or two of rest and recreation, they are invigorated and strengthened and nursed back to health. The recent appreciation of this problem has greatly increased the fresh air work of the various philanthropies. Parks and playgrounds temper the fierceness of the heat, and the establishment of baby tents on open spaces, whether vacant lots or playgrounds, brings good air to the hundreds of babies that are brought out from dark, foul-smelling tenements.

The poor suffer from the lack of means to cool milk. Many of them cannot afford to buy ice, and the water is not sufficiently cool to serve the purpose. Free ice funds have, therefore, been established in some cities. Ice is frequently furnished to needy families, the preference always being given to those families in which sick children are in need of relief.

9. Reduction of Poverty and Vice.

Poverty has an ultimate relation to infant mortality. Many underfed and emaciated children can be daily seen in our large hospitals, and many withered mothers are the victims of malnutrition; soon their suckling babes are stricken also. Poverty prevents parents from drawing on the community, which is rich in its resources and its capacity for coaxing children back to health. Poverty keeps the nurse and physician out of the home; it houses the poor in dirty, dilapidated alley houses; it prevents education; it makes people helpless and causes them to abandon hope. If poverty is self-inflicted, little can be done, and lazy, shiftless, and improvident parents may have themselves to blame. Still we do not know to what extent our methods of training and our social neglect are responsible for their fate. If poverty is due to circumstances over which individuals have no control, the burden rests flatly on the community. Poverty can be largely abolished, and it must be done for the sake of the children, but it must also be done to promote a better civilization.

Vice cannot be overlooked. Drunken fathers neglect their families and waste their means, while vicious mothers are hardened to misery and shame. The immorality of many men and the consequent infliction of disease upon their offspring is responsible for a growing proportion of infant and child deaths. Innocent women are frequent victims of such men, but the peril to children is perhaps the graver, because deformity or death is the frequent penalty.

10. Control of Midwifery.

In the American cities many of the births are attended by midwives; the proportion in New York City is about 33 per cent; in St. Louis approximately 30; but in Boston it is very small, owing to the enormous extension of its obstetrical outdoor hospital facilities. A large proportion of the midwives are ignorant women, with no knowledge of microörganisms and with no appreciation of the importance of absolute cleanliness. Many of them are old; some are untidy in habits; others lack a full equipment of instruments, and probably not more than 10 per cent are careful, efficient workers.

To safeguard the life and health of the child and also of the mother the supervision of midwives has become necessary. Most European countries have adopted strict regulations, and American states and cities are slowly following, the state law applying to the city of New York being a good type of such regulations. Among the provisions of the law are the following:

Every midwife must have a permit from the Board of Health. This must be renewed annually.

The applicant must be 21 years of age, literate, of good moral character, must have attended under the instruction of a licensed physician at least twenty cases of labor, and must appear in person at the Department of Health.

No permit will be granted to an applicant guilty of criminal practice.

A midwife may attend only certain cases of labor. If specified conditions develop, a physician must be called.

She must be scrupulously clean, must carry the prescribed articles in her equipment, and follow a certain course of procedure.

She must drop a 1 per cent solution of silver nitrate into the eyes of the newly born child, and summon a physician if the child develops certain injurious conditions.

She must report still-births and also issue birth certificates.

The law is enforced by the Division of Child Hygiene.

Midwifery must gradually be subjected to the same program of control as the medical profession. Schools and training must be provided, and the right to practice must follow a proper examination of the applicant. Subsequent supervision, however, must be rather complete because of the relatively inferior education of the midwife even though she takes a short training course. In England midwives are not licensed unless they have graduated from an accredited training school, but in the United States facilities for training are meager, and a professional course is not required. A system of state registration and control, and the adoption of a standard that would require special training, will simplify the midwife problem and develop a more efficient group of workers.

11. Public Health Programs.

What is the function of the organized public in reference to this problem? To what extent shall the city, the state, or the nation interfere actively with the infant death rate and bring about its reduction? What are the limits which must not be exceeded? Is there no danger that individual responsibility will perish under a deluge of paternalism and leave us a socially and morally weakened race? Shall we make good conditions and a good environment possible whether individuals like them or not? Shall the fate of babies be abandoned to the iciness of ignorance and commercialism? The social worker is not afraid to move forward. Health is no longer a purely individual matter; it has become the concern of the community. Just as limitations must be imposed on the right to become an alcoholic or a drug addict so there can be no complete personal liberty in regard to health matters. Preventable infant mortality is social crime.

A public health program, however, will encounter certain

practical obstacles. Apparently a large number of private physicians still think that disease was made for the physician rather than the physician for the disease. As one public health officer expressed it, many doctors are not interested in keeping people from becoming sick, they are only interested in preventing them from dying. The opposition of many physicians to the federal maternity and infancy law, the fight made against health insurance, the antagonism to the public health nurse,—these are some of the indications that professional jealousy and commercialism are still active foes of health. The logic that has given us the public school teacher will give us the public health officer and the public health nurse whether private selfishness wishes it or not. Our social interests demand that children grow up healthy and strong whether or not parents can pay for the necessary service. Not many persons are pauperized by being made robust and vigorous. No child will thank a community that has permitted it to be deprived of its right to attain whatever inborn capacity for health it possessed. A public health program must therefore be developed and the interests of private physicians subordinated to the welfare of the community.

In carrying out a plan the city, state, and nation must all cooperate. Every large city should have a corps of municipal nurses to do prenatal, postnatal and infant welfare work. Nurses and other workers should train and educate mothers in baby and child care. Literature should be distributed, bulletins prepared, motion pictures used and other educational methods employed. The efficiency of midwives can be increased, pending the development of higher standards which would automatically result in better work on their part. Adequate hospital facilities should be provided and quarantine be made effective. Sick babies should be discovered and if necessary the aid of private philanthropy invoked. Cities should establish a system of health centers from which these services should radiate. Much has already been accomplished along these lines.

Organization on a county-wide basis is also necessary, particularly in the more sparsely settled communities. County health units should be established. These should consist of a health officer, sanitary officer, one or more public health nurses and perhaps a social worker. This unit should not only carry out the program outlined for the prevention of maternity and infant mortality but should also promote the health and vitality of the pre-school child. In various states such units have been established and in some cases their work includes the control of contagion in the schools and the handling of the physical defects of school children.

State programs have recently made their appearance and will be carried out whether federal assistance is given or not. The usual plan consists of the establishment of a state division of child hygiene to which the carrying out of the state program is to be entrusted. A typical plan covers projects such as the following: the establishment of health centers in various sections of the state to—

1. Give instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy, including demonstrations.
2. Provide prenatal and postnatal care through visiting nurses.
3. Provide medical aid in cases where it would otherwise not be obtained.
4. Secure more nearly complete birth and death records.
5. Promote physical examinations of children and removal of defects.
6. Control communicable disease.
7. Prevent ophthalmia neonatorum.
8. Disseminate health literature.
9. Coördinate the work of the public health agencies of the community.

Federal aid will greatly accelerate the work of the states in their less accessible districts. In most instances the states entertain a greater readiness to promote such health work

when part of the financial burden is borne by the federal government. The effect of such aid, however, is to call attention to the local needs and to stimulate action to meet them. Federal aid yields educative results.

The federal law provides for an outright appropriation to each state accepting its provisions. In addition certain sums are granted if the amount is matched by the state appropriations. The money must be expended according to a plan made by the state and approved by a committee of federal officials. The initiative lies with the state and the federal government cannot dictate except in a negative way. The federal moneys may not be used for the purchase, erection or repair of any buildings or equipment and none of the funds available under the laws may be used for the payment of maternity or infant pensions. These limitations force the local community where work is to be done to coöperate in a financial way with the division of child hygiene. The clinics, centers, health stations, and the equipment therefor must be contributed by such a community.

12. Coöperation among Preventive Agencies.

The saving of child lives has become a question of such importance that a variety of organizations have entered the work. At once there is danger of much duplication of effort and waste of energy. Coöperation is necessary to facilitate well-directed work.

Some of the more intricate personal relations involved may well be left to private philanthropy. Especially is this true of relief cases, and others that do not lend themselves easily to a definite routine of action. Public authority should, however, take the lead and allow private philanthropy to supplement its work, rather than the converse. The two should definitely coördinate their activities.

In Chicago close coöperation has existed among the principal agencies interested, such as the Department of Health, the United Charities, the Visiting Nurse Association, and the various settlements and sanatoria. In St. Louis and other cities

the agencies interested in infant mortality are brought together in a Community Council through which they may be able to perfect a plan of coöperation. If a proper coördination of the work of preventive agencies can be established, and if a maximum of efficiency can be secured so that all waste of effort will be avoided, then a rapid reduction in death rates should take place.

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PART II

HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN

1. Standards of Physique. Health.

Next to life comes health. Without this no man can be industrially, mentally, and morally as capable as the normal man should be. The development of physique and vigor is therefore one of the great essentials of wholesome life, and every man should have the opportunity to acquire his highest physical possibility. It is not mere height and weight that count, but a normal development, for the tall Patagonian is not necessarily superior to the short Italian, nor a heavy race superior to one of lighter weight, but a man of normal stature is superior to the dwarfed specimen of his own race. So with strength and other characteristics. It is probable that the different races of the world each possess certain inherent normal proportions of physique, such as height, weight, lung power, shape of head, etc. The normal tends always to persist, but environmental influences may carry a people far from the original standard. However, when favorable conditions return, the people will rebound and the normal type again appear. Heredity gives us a standard for each race, environment causes the principal deviations therefrom. The social phase of this problem consists in surrounding each person with the forces which will insure to him the physique to which he is entitled, while the eugenic side consists of the problem of improving the standard.

Recent studies and observations of the physical conditions of children and of certain adult groups have indicated certain laws of development, as well as the causes of physical degeneration. The boy baby weighs about eight ounces more at

birth than the girl baby, but the death rate of male children is uniformly higher than that of females, and they are also more susceptible to certain diseases. Boys are superior in height and weight from birth until they are about 11½ years old, but at that age the girls overtake them and exceed them in both respects for a period of from two to three years. Then boys grow so rapidly that they again outstrip the girls, and from that time on are taller and heavier than girls. The rapid growth of girls precedes puberty by about two years, during which period of development many children grow as much as three inches in a single year. The boy of 14 if allowed to work runs a great risk, for this is precisely the time of his most rapid growth. Before puberty the difference between boys and girls as to strength, pull, grip, and other physical powers is much less than afterwards. After this period the lines of development diverge, the male sex grows strong, but the female sex develops endurance, resistance, and the peculiar feminine powers at the expense of great physical strength. These several cycles of growth are most important in their relation to the permanent vigor and physique of the individuals.

The actual development of standards of growth which would make definite concrete comparisons possible is an arduous and difficult process. Nevertheless great advance has been made along these lines in recent years. Thousands of children have been weighed, measured and other observations made in an endeavor to discover norms, ratios, and rates and characteristics of growth. These studies have relied somewhat too strongly on the saving power of the law of averages to discover usable standards. As a matter of fact standards cannot depend on averages except as those averages are obtained from well-selected cases. Even then it is usually necessary to accept for observation children for whom no specified diet or regimen of life has been prescribed; that is the children have not enjoyed that social control necessary to discover the effects of ideal habits of food, sleep, exercise, rest, work and study. The

generally accepted theory seems to be that children from the better class homes meet these conditions and that their weights and measurements will yield reasonable standards. Better methods are not feasible at this time, nevertheless it is certain that the present ones cannot yield the positive results that we must eventually achieve.

The work that has been done to establish physical standards for domestic animals has so far accomplished much better constructive results for the particular purpose than has been accomplished for children through tables of heights and weights.

Anthropometric tables differ from each other in method of construction. The table of heights and weights used during the war by the Federal Children's Bureau quotes a definite height and also a definite weight for a particular age. Figures are given separately for boys and girls. Each figure represents an average and therefore gives the impression that the normal child should approximate these averages. Parts of the table are taken from measurements made for the American Medical Association by F. S. Crum. Other averages were borrowed from Holt and from Bowditch. A new table, however, has been prepared from the data procured by the Bureau during its child weighing campaign. This is based on the records of 167,024 white children and shows averages only.

Baldwin has studied children both in Eastern cities and later in Iowa, where as director of the Iowa Child Welfare Station, he has given much attention to this subject. The norms he has presented are based on well-developed children, and the standards known as coefficients are obtained by dividing weight by height. These norms, therefore, make allowance for natural differences among children. The relation between breathing capacity and height is also considered and included. Somewhat different in construction, but similar in that the relationship between height and weight is recognized, is the set of tables prepared by Wood. According to his table a child of a certain height should vary somewhat in weight depending on

his age. For example, a boy fifty inches tall should weigh 58 pounds if seven years old, but 62 pounds if twelve.

The table permits so much leeway, however, that a normal boy of ten may vary from 47 to 60 inches in height and from 54 to 91 pounds in weight. The variations allowed for a 14 year old boy are still greater. As a consequence weight-height ratios are not identical for given years, and a boy if small for his age, will have a lower ratio than he will if above average height. Ratios, however, are not a sufficient standard of measurement since causes may operate to retard both height and weight although malnutrition prevents the increase of weight more effectively than it does height.

Further experimentations are being conducted and observations being made in the hope that effective standards may be developed. The work accomplished so far represents a mere beginning and no table is presented with any claim of finality of results. Accordingly importance is attached to the general appearance of the child regardless of the height-weight ratio and to the monthly and annual gain in height and weight. These changes are even more significant than conformity to some standard.

In examining children from the standpoint of nutrition the Dumfermline scale is now generally used. According to this system children are divided into four groups as follows:

1. Excellent—This represents a superior condition.
2. Good—Condition normal.
3. Poor—Children requiring supervision.
4. Very Poor—Children requiring medical attention.

These groups are sufficiently definite to make the grading rather easy. Groups 3 and 4 are usually designated as malnutrition cases, and Group 1 is separated from 2 in order to emphasize conditions of superiority.

2. Comparative Development of Social Classes.

The physical conditions of the child of to-day are a pretty safe indication of the forces that are at work in his environment. Observations made many years ago by Quetelet were

to the effect that wealthy children were larger than poor children. Roberts, in his study of English boys, compared the laboring class groups of the towns with the non-laboring classes in the schools and universities. He discovered a difference of 2.37 inches in height at the age of ten and of 1.09 inches at 20, both of course in favor of the well-to-do boy. On the other hand, while the poor boy was lighter in the earlier years, at 20 he was heavier than his wealthy cousin.

Bowditch, in 1877, found the American-born pupils of selected schools in Boston both taller and heavier than the non-working English boys,[1] the difference in weight being greater, however, than that in height. He also showed that children of native parents were taller and heavier than those of foreign extraction. These differences he attributed partly to the greater prosperity of the old native stocks, partly to racial characteristics, but he also discovered that the children of native parents who were attending the higher schools were superior to the average children of the native classes. The chief difference was in height. He therefore concluded that lack of comfort was the principal factor responsible for this difference, and that poverty affected height more than weight.

Porter, in his study of St. Louis children, divided them into two groups, the children of manual tradesmen, and those of merchants and professional men. Between the ages of 6 and 10 he found but little difference, but beyond this age the well-to-do child was decidedly superior, and at 17 he excelled in weight by 5.5 pounds. Porter concluded that material prosperity and social status are important influences, especially after the age of 10. His comparisons also indicate that successful children are larger than unsuccessful ones, the corollary of this being that poverty retards school progress.

The more recent studies in Great Britain are perhaps of the greatest significance. Two somewhat limited investigations were made; one of children in schools attended by the well-to-do; one of the inmates of the industrial schools, among

[1] Bowditch, *The Growth of Children.*

whom both dependent and delinquent children would be included. At 10 the boys of the industrial schools were 10.64 pounds lighter and 3.31 inches shorter than the others, and at 14 the differences were 21.85 pounds, and 6.65 inches, respectively. A study of children in Edinburgh also revealed striking conditions, but that of 72,857 children in Glasgow is of the greatest significance. Using the standard established by the Anthropometrical Committee of the British Association, the figures for the poorest districts were compared with those for the better localities. At 10 the boys in the poor districts were 10.8 pounds and 2.9 inches below the standard, and at 13 the deficiency was 11.1 pounds and 3.1 inches respectively. The average for all the children up to the age of 14 was below the standard in both weight and stature, but the average stature of the children between 14 and 18 years was slightly above the standard. This is accounted for by the fact that practically no poor children attend school after the age of 14. Children were also classified according to the housing condition of the parents, being divided into groups living in one-, two-, three-, or four-room apartments, with very important results, as shown in the following table: [1]

LIVING IN	WEIGHT (POUNDS)		HEIGHT (INCHES)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
One-room houses	52.6	51.5	46.6	46.3
Two-room houses	56.1	54.8	48.1	47.3
Three-room houses	60.6	59.4	50.0	49.6
Four-room houses	64.3	65.5	51.3	51.6

Although it would seem that the above differences would be slightly lessened by a comparison according to age distribution, similar results were shown by testing the above summary on measurements compared by age groups. Therefore the figures are substantially valid. They indicate an enormous physical difference between the inhabitants of one-room and

[1] Report on the Physical Condition of Children attending the Public Schools, of the School Board of Glasgow, 1907.

those of four-room houses. The figures correspond very closely with those given for the other studies mentioned, and show that poverty very seriously depresses the physique of children.

Rowntree came to similar conclusions after his study of poverty in York. Gershal tells us of the relative inferiority of dependent Jewish boys, and Boaz says that at 5 they are 1.6 inches below the normal; at 11, 3.4 inches, and that at 15-16 they are nearly 8 inches shorter. The evidence then seems adequate and conclusive.

The effects of bad environment then are mainly two: First, we have physical deterioration and individual subnormality. The race standard does not necessarily suffer, but the aggregate strength of a nation is impaired. Porter says, "A prolonged strain on a growing child harms for life and leaves a mark which can never be effaced," while Dr. Robert Hutchinson of England says that the child of 10 to 15 must have enough food or be stunted for life. Second, physical deterioration impedes mental and moral progress, strong children being relatively advanced in their studies. The young inmates of the John Worthy School—a former juvenile reformatory—of Chicago were inferior in height, weight, grip, endurance, and mental capacity. A relation between the physical and moral qualities is also evidenced by these facts.

Causes of degeneration register their effects in adult life, and while the child recovers somewhat from his handicap he cannot be entirely restored. The Jewish people are comparatively short,—probably an inherent characteristic,—but Ripley says that a difference of three inches in stature has been noted between the wealthy West-end and the poverty-stricken East-end Jew of London. Environmental causes probably account for the major portion of this difference.

In Berlin the problem of physical fitness for the army is becoming a serious one, and a very large proportion of rejections are being made. Rural East Prussia has fared much better, and here a high proportion are physically fit for military service. During the years 1893-1902, the British gov-

ernment examined 679,703 recruits, and rejected 234,914 outright—more than one-third—and about 20,000 later.[1] Whether higher or lower than formerly, this proportion of rejections when physical requirements are comparatively low indicates an unwelcome condition. Rejections were most numerous among volunteers from manufacturing centers such as Manchester. Lack of physical development, such as inferior chest measurement, and want of vital power were the chief causes of rejection; but among students volunteering, the decay of teeth was the principal reason. The British Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, which investigated this subject in 1904, denied that deterioration had taken place, but very wisely yet inconsistently called attention to the many causes of degeneration. It makes little difference, however, whether people have declined or have never reached their proper proportions. The effects are the same.

The physical conditions existing among the young men in this country were revealed during the war by virtue of the army tests. Out of over 3,000,000 men examined between December 15, 1917 and September 11, 1918, 70.41 per cent were classified as fit for general military service. The second group consisting of 2.76 per cent suffered from remediable defects and could by operations and treatment be restored to the first class. Another group comprising 10.58 per cent were distinctly subnormal but capable of some form of military service, while 16.25 per cent were regarded as entirely unfit and rejected outright. The third and fourth groups together constitute 26.83 per cent of the total number and represent serious deviations from the physical standards adopted for the army.[2] What has prevented the normal development of this vast army of young men? What can be done to prevent a recurrence of this situation? Questions such as these face the social worker and must be answered before we can hope to raise the physically retarded and subnormal to that level to which they are entitled

[1] Burke, Thomas, *The Forum*, Vol. 36.
[2] Second Report of the Provost-Marshal General, p. 153.

by their heredity. The comparisons made between certain rural and urban communities may throw some light on the problem.

Selected regions were used for this comparison and the record of 100,000 city men contrasted with that of a similar number of young men from the rural districts. The figures show that 21.68 per cent of the former were rejected and only 16.89 per cent of the latter. The conclusion drawn from these facts and from other observations was that a "considerable physical advantage accrues to the boy reared in the country." Interesting results were also obtained by comparing the native with the foreign born. In certain communities where the registrants were largely of foreign birth the rejections totaled 17.14 per cent, while in native communities the corresponding figure was 13.64—a larger difference in favor of the native American. On the other hand no marked difference was discovered between the native born of foreign parents and the representatives of American stock.

A number of recent studies throw light on the present physical conditions among different classes of American children. The study of 171,661 school children in New York City in 1918 disclosed the fact that 21.6 per cent graded poor or very poor—that is, were victims of malnutrition. In Gary, Indiana, according to the Children's Bureau, the percentage of children of similar grading was only 9.7 but the group was mostly under school age. In fact the higher proportion of malnutrition cases occurred among the children under four. Far different, however, is the evidence collected in the mountains of Kentucky where out of 149 children 40 per cent were victims of malnutrition and only 25 per cent were classified as excellent or good. Among the children in rural and small-town schools in Missouri it was discovered that of nearly 2000 cases studied 19.8 per cent were ten or more per cent below normal in weight and a still larger proportion varied from five to ten per cent. Interesting facts were obtained from a study of children in the Detroit public schools in 1921. Out of over

43,000 boys, 11.7 per cent were more than 10 per cent below normal and almost exactly the same percentage graded more than ten per cent above normal.

The girls exhibited wider variations, the relative percentage a similar distance below normal standing at 16.0 and that above at 15.2. In the rural schools of Erie County, New York, 18 per cent of the 5,000 children examined were found to be more than 10 per cent under weight. The facts disclosed by these studies of relatively unselected groups of children in different parts of the country indicate that a considerable proportion are suffering seriously from malnutrition. Nevertheless they do not enable us to designate a probable average for the country. It is clear, however, that a comparatively high rate prevails in rural districts and that the large cities are not at all uniform in respect to their rates and conditions.

Among certain types of children different rates will naturally be found. At one of the health centers in New York City visited largely by children of the neighborhood, 37.9 per cent of the pre-school children suffered from malnutrition while among the group from 6 to 12 the percentage was 38.4. These figures are much higher than those given previously for New York school children and approximate the conditions now existing in the mountains of the South.

3. Causes of Deterioration.

The chief fundamental causes of physical subnormality and malnutrition are poverty and ignorance, the twin evils whose devastating hands blight everything they touch. Poverty implies poor and insufficient food, poor housing, inadequate physical attention and neglect.

Ignorance is not always associated with poverty and many well-to-do children suffer from parental neglect. For them the family table is merely a tradition and a normal meal a pleasant memory. Many students also emphasize lack of parental control as a factor of serious consequence. Children have too much freedom and too little judgment to act wisely. Accordingly they fall into unhygienic habits of eating and of

living. For example, inveterate coffee drinking among children may retard their growth in weight and height and handicap them in the development of strength.

Malnutrition is frequently associated with other physical defects, and is often a consequence. Defective teeth, for example, often overburden the digestive system and cause the child to suffer. The problem therefore presents two phases: first, misfeeding due to physical defects, ill-prepared food, ignorance, or lack of self-control; second, underfeeding resulting from poverty or penuriousness. Malnutrition, so-called, may be of primary or secondary character. If it is primary, the child needs more food or better food; if secondary, the physical or mental causes of the malnutrition must be removed. In either case improper physical development results, and often mental retardation as well.

A classification of causes is given by the Red Cross in a survey of 430 children in New York City. The proportions given are as follows:

Dietary factors	40%
Enlarged tonsils and adenoids	15
Economic causes	10
Child's previous medical history	7
Lack of coöperation with parents	7
Miscellaneous	21

The Children's Bureau lists the specific causes under such heads as dietary conditions, insufficient sleep, fatigue, physical defect and disease, but calls attention to the more important underlying causes as given above.

The causes of inferiority were explained by the British Committee on Physical Deterioration as follows: *urbanization*, the great majority of British people now living in cities where smoke and other unsanitary conditions such as bad housing prevail; *conditions of employment*, which bear heavily upon the people, especially upon the children, whose development is retarded thereby; *alcoholism*, a frightful expenditure of money

for intoxicating liquors, implying depleted physique; poor food, much being of inferior quality; besides many people are suffering from insufficient food. In other words, poverty is a cause, Dr. Eichholz estimating that 16 per cent of the London school children were underfed. These causes—bad living conditions, unsanitary workshops, alcoholism, and malnutrition—stand out as the four chief reasons for physical inferiority. Disease is also a factor, especially epidemics of disease that affect children between two and five years of age.

The chief causes both in England and in the United States seem to be largely factors of environment, and therefore if removed will allow the race to spring back to its natural physical condition. One of the reassuring conclusions of the English investigators was that the deterioration was not a degeneration, but only a temporary condition dependent upon unfortunate social and industrial relations. Here then is the great field for the social worker, who must so change the environment that the race may be enabled to reach its highest development.

4. Physical Defectiveness.

Apart from the failure of certain classes and groups to develop a normal physique and the usual amount of strength, we find physical defects more or less grave existing among a large proportion of children. Among the more serious of these defects are: blindness, deaf-mutism, physical deformities, and tubercular tendencies. The relatively minor defects include adenoids, enlarged tonsils, defective teeth, imperfect vision or hearing, and orthopedic defects.

a. Blindness.

Individuals unable to read even with the aid of glasses are classified as blind. According to the estimates of the United States Census Bureau there were about 75,000 such persons in this country in 1920. In addition to this number there are many partially blind some of whom constitute social problems. About seven-eighths of the blind are more than 20 years of age and the great majority, about 65 per cent,

acquired this defect after they reached this age. In the case of blind minors, however, 46 per cent were either blind at birth or acquired blindness before they were two years old.

A common cause of blindness is ophthalmia neonatorum. Formerly about one-fourth of the children in schools for the blind lost their eyesight from this disease. In England the proportion was even higher. American figures for 1920, however, credit the disease with only about 7 per cent of the responsibility for blindness among minors. No doubt the vigorous campaign waged in many states against the disease is producing effects, although it is a product of one of the social diseases. A very simple treatment of the child at birth will entirely prevent inflammation and the danger of blindness. The carelessness of physicians and midwives should be met by the compulsory treatment of the eyes of all the new-born. Danger of infection will of course remain so long as immorality and the social diseases continue to exist.

Among the causes of blindness is the disease known as trachoma. It is becoming increasingly prevalent, having taken root largely through its importation from Southern Europe. Immigrant children are spreading the disease in the schools, and the infection has been planted in various parts of the country.

Congenital blindness or weakness of vision is also responsible for a large proportion of blindness, and accidents claim a considerable share. Failure to care properly for infected or injured eyes frequently causes blindness; for example, crossed-eyes and defects of vision result in weakened eyesight and often culminate in blindness. Cataract and atrophy of the optic nerve, the most important causes of blindness, affect but few persons under 20 years of age, their chief incidence being in later life. Best estimates that 64 per cent of all blindness is absolutely preventable.

b. Deafness.

In 1900, 89,287 cases of deafness were reported for the United States—a proportion of approximately 1.2 per 1000 popu-

lation. Of this number 42 per cent were totally deaf, and the remainder, or 58 per cent, suffered from partial deafness only. Ninety per cent of the total deafness and 58.1 per cent of all deafness occurs before the age of 20, while 70 per cent of the total deafness occurs under five.

In 1910 the enumeration included deaf-mutes only and these numbered 44,708. In 1920 the census returns disclosed a total of 44,885, a smaller proportion than that for the previous decade. The totally and partially deaf together probably numbered about 125,000 in 1922.

Deaf-mutism is largely due to the following causes: Congenital deafness, scarlet fever, meningitis, brain fever, measles and colds. Congenital conditions are alone responsible for 38.6 per cent of the cases and the brain and nerve diseases are also very serious factors. Scarlet fever likewise tends to produce total rather than partial deafness. Some of the causes of deafness appear in the following table. Not all of the totally deaf are mute and, therefore, the proportion of cases due to congenital causes as given in the table is less than the figure given for deaf-mutes.

PERCENTAGE OF DEAFNESS FROM SPECIFIED CAUSES[1]

CAUSES	ALL DEAFNESS	TOTALLY DEAF	PARTIALLY DEAF	DEAFNESS UNDER 20
Congenital	16	33	3	28
Scarlet fever	8	11	6	13
Catarrh and colds	16	4	23	6
Nerve disease	10	18	4	15
Old age	3	0	6	0
Total specified	53	66	42	62

The statistics warrant the conclusion that heredity is an important factor in causing deafness. Fay, in his extensive study of the deaf, discovered an astonishing rate of deafness among the children of parents having deafness in their families. The investigations of the United States government point

[1] United States Bureau of the Census, *The Blind and the Deaf*, 1906, pp. 118 and 122.

to similar conclusions. Consanguinity represents one phase of this problem, as is shown in the subjoined table.

CONGENITAL DEAFNESS AND CONSANGUINITY OF PARENTS[1]

DEGREE OF DEAFNESS	PARENTS COUSINS		PARENTS NOT COUSINS	
	Number Deaf	Percentage Congenitally Deaf	Number Deaf	Percentage Congenitally Deaf
All deaf	4065	42.7	75,530	15.0
Totally deaf	2525	61.1	31,560	31.1
Partially deaf	1540	12.0	43,970	3.4

At the time of this investigation the percentage of persons congenitally deaf was nearly three times as high among those whose parents were cousins as among those whose parents were not cousins. Among the totally deaf this proportion, however, was almost exactly two to one. Again, of the deaf born from consanguineous marriages, 53.4 per cent had blood relatives who were deaf, while of the remaining deaf only 29.9 per cent had deaf relatives. It is clear that hereditary weaknesses have been intensified by the intermarriage of first cousins, and that an abnormal amount of deafness results therefrom.

The figures for 1920 differ slightly from those of the previous study. In that year in the case of marriages among first cousins, deaf relatives were located in 52 per cent of the families, but in case the parents were not related the proportion was only 21.8. Furthermore among the children of first cousins the percentage of congenital cases was 61, but among the remainder only 37. The influence of heredity is also indicated by the fact that among the congenitally deaf the existence of deaf relatives was reported in 12.3 per cent of the cases while among the entire number of deaf the proportion was only 6.3 per cent.

The evidence of investigation shows that catarrh, one of the causes of deafness among adults, is often inherited. Both young and old may therefore suffer from hereditary conditions.

[1] United States Bureau of the Census, *The Blind and the Deaf*, 1906, p. 208 ff.

The prevention of deaf-mutism is to a considerable extent a eugenic problem.

c. Physical Deformities.

No hard and fast dividing line can be drawn between cripples and normal children, as every stage from the slightly injured child to the hopeless cripple is represented in our population. Our interest, however, is largely confined to that group of cripples who are so helpless that they cannot, without undue pain and effort, attend school or care for themselves. It is this group which must receive special attention from the schools or from other social agencies. A few facts as to the origin of the cripple have been collected in foreign countries, and the following statistics will throw some light on the question.

CAUSES OF DEFORMITIES[1]

CAUSE	LONDON		GERMANY	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Tuberculosis	1634	49.9	11,303	15.0
Paralysis (including infantile)	942	28.7	11,165	14.8
Congenital conditions	227	7.0	6,479	8.6
Rickets	158	4.8	4,724	6.3
Scoliosis	...	...	9,167	12.2
Miscellaneous	314	9.6	32,345	43.1
Total	3275	100.0	75,183	100.0

The London cases cover the seriously crippled children only, while those for Germany include many children with very slight deformities. Tuberculosis is the principal cause of the serious deformities, causing nearly one-half of the crippled cases in London, and a larger proportion in Germany than any other cause. Paralysis, most of the cases being infantile paralysis, comes next in both places, and in Germany it almost rivals tuberculosis as a cause. The German statistics include the proportion suffering from scoliosis or curvature of

[1] Report of the British Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis, 1913, Vol. II, p. 42.

the spine, which comprises about one-eighth of the total. Congenital malformations are relatively unimportant, being responsible for from 7 to 9 per cent of the cases. Rickets, usually a result of malnutrition, accounts for a considerable number, and the "Miscellaneous" cause is very large for Germany because of the inclusion of the minor deformities. In both countries, however, the principal causes follow in the same order of importance: tuberculosis, paralysis, congenital deformity, and rickets. It is apparent that disease through its various manifestations causes the bulk of physical deformity, but behind disease lie conditions which are ultimately responsible for the production of the cripple.

Little information can be obtained concerning the crippled children in the United States.

However, Gesell has estimated the number of crippled children of school age as 2 per 1,000.[1] The Cleveland survey yielded similar results, but the St. Louis study reported about 5 per 1,000, nearly one-half of whom were unable to attend school. Recent epidemics of infantile paralysis have greatly increased the number from that source in this country. On the other hand the development of a "sane Fourth of July" has saved many a child from serious accident.

d. Tubercular Tendencies.

Recent investigation is demonstrating that a large number of children show evidence of tuberculosis. The studies made by Von Pirquet indicate that the majority of children respond positively to the tuberculin test, the proportion among children of 10 years rising as high as 70 per cent. In most cases the tuberculosis is latent, and the child never suffers actively from the disease, autopsies having disclosed the fact that many children dying from other diseases are also affected with tuberculosis. Kelynack claims that 40 per cent of all children dying under 15 years of age show signs of tuberculosis, and that many children dying from measles, whooping cough, influenza, and other diseases reveal the presence of the tubercular germ.

[1] *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Nov., 1921.

Physicians now admit the general prevalence of latent tuberculosis.

The problem of tuberculosis relates itself to those persons who suffer actively from the disease, whose lives are threatened, and who may infect others, but naturally the proportion of children in the group is comparatively small. A study made in Stockholm, Sweden, indicates that 1.6 per cent of the school children of that city were afflicted with tuberculosis and needed special attention. An examination of 543,594 English school children yielded more favorable results, only .67 of 1 per cent being apparently tubercular. Dr. Newman, however, has computed the proportion of tubercular children as approximately 1 per cent of the total number of children, not including the institution cases, which if added would yield a percentage similar to the estimate for Stockholm. The inspection of school children in the United States has not revealed so high a percentage, but examinations have not been thorough and many infected children are unable to attend school. That tuberculosis in children is an important fact is indicated by the statistics of the registration area of the United States, which show that in 1920 17 per cent of all deaths from tuberculosis occurred among persons under 20 years of age. If 1½ per cent of our school population are seriously tubercular, then about 300,000 school children should be given careful treatment and the conditions of their environment so modified as to insure their recovery. The great majority of tubercular children do not suffer sufficiently to cause much interference with their school duties or with their occupations if they have begun to work. Tuberculosis proceeds very slowly among children and usually does not manifest dangerous symptoms until after the age of majority. Owing to this fact, it is difficult to estimate the number of tubercular children in any community.

The careful examination of children has shown that the pulmonary form of tuberculosis is the most common one. The belief formerly held that among children the bones and joints were the chief objects of attack has been overthrown. The

lungs suffer most severely and most often, and it even appears that the infection of joints does not usually indicate localized trouble, but is one of the results of a generalized infection, the lungs being the primary seat of the disturbance.

Constant exposure to infection is responsible for the large number of tubercular children. Dr. Wallace's study in New York of 443 children suffering from tuberculosis shows that 196 came from houses that were previously infected and 130 from tubercular families, indicating that nearly three-fourths of the children had been regularly exposed to the disease.[1] Floyd and Bowditch in Boston found that out of 1000 children examined 679 had been directly exposed to tuberculosis in their homes. More than one-third of the entire number showed definite signs of pulmonary tuberculosis, and in two-thirds of the children some symptoms of the disease appeared.[2] Dr. Sachs estimated that at least one-third of the small children in the families of the tubercular poor have been infected.[3]

e. Minor Physical Defects.

Quite apart from the problems of physical deterioration and special handicaps is that of the minor physical defects of children. A near-sighted child may have ample food, and one suffering from adenoids live in a palace, but these defects will not be removed thereby. They will not only remain, but will severely handicap the children in their work and opportunities. Physical defects may also result in actual deterioration of physique; while on the contrary the removal of the defects opens new possibilities for the child and enables him to achieve greater progress along all lines. Therefore the problem must be solved.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of physical defectiveness among children, since the medical inspections made in the United States have not covered a sufficient number of typical localities to enable us to make generalizations. It is quite

[1] Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis, Vol. II, Section IV, p. 421.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 495.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 485.

worthless to say that, "1 to 15 per cent suffer from skin diseases," [1] as it makes considerable difference whether it is 1 per cent or 15 times as much. On the other hand, a number of cities have examined so many children that their results must prove helpful in enabling us to arrive at some conclusions as to the magnitude of the problem in the cities.

In the country districts little or nothing has been done: consequently we can make no estimates for more than one-half of the entire school population. Some defects, however, probably occur with an approximately equal degree of frequency in city and country alike, and partial statistics therefore have considerable value.

There are a large number of physical defects that should be discovered by the examining physician. Among the most important of these, aside from tuberculosis and deformities, are: defective eyesight, defective hearing, dental caries, adenoids, difficult nasal breathing, enlarged tonsils, malnutrition, pediculosis, curvature of the spine, organic heart troubles, etc. Each of these interferes either with the mental or the physical development of the child, and should be removed if possible.

The first important study of the physical conditions of school children made in the United States was carried on by Gulick and Ayres. Their tables are based on 559,863 children taken from nine cities, although two-fifths were from New York City.

According to their figures, nearly two-thirds of the children examined had defects sufficiently serious to require attention, As there was an average of slightly more than one defect per child, a large number of children must have suffered from two or more defects each. The most common defects discovered were dental caries, from 29 to 50 per cent of the children suffering from this handicap.

The proportion of children suffering from defective vision is somewhat uncertain, but nearly 12 per cent of these half million children were affected.

Adenoids and other nasal troubles were found in various

[1] Quoted from a circular sent by a society dealing with school hygiene.

proportions, ranging in the nine cities tabulated by Gulick and Ayres from 4.8 to 18.1 per cent.

Rather careful and intensive studies of this problem have been made in recent years by the Children's Bureau and various health and welfare organizations. The following table presents some of the results. In Gary 3125 children between two and seven years of age were examined by the Children's Bureau. The figures for New York City are based on the work of a private society which is serving the poor. The Missouri statistics were gathered by an anti-tuberculosis society and cover more than 2000 children selected from six different counties of the state.

DEFECTS	PERCENTAGE AT SPECIFIED AGES			
	GARY 2–7	NEW YORK CITY		MISSOURI
		1–5	6–12	Grade Schools
Head	5.2	10.7	2.0	...
Eye	28.5	5.0	4.6	31.2
Ear	1.5	4.6	5.0	2.0
Teeth	64.7	28.0	67.5	69.5
Nose and throat	69.0	43.9	42.2	37.8
Enlarged glands	29.1	20.6	23.4	45.0
Heart	3.2	4.0	6.0	5.2
Lungs	1.0	3.1	1.4	4.0
Skin	10.2	18.7	25.2	...
Orthopedic	41.9	24.6	7.9	...
Nutrition	17.5	37.9	38.4	19.8
Abdomen	14.8	16.5	2.1	...

Again the most common defect is that of the teeth. Practically two-thirds of the children suffer from this condition and the proportion is higher in communities where but little medical inspection has been attempted. These figures, however, are low compared to those reported from orphanages where the number having defective teeth often exceeds 90 per cent.

The prevalence of nose and throat troubles likewise presents an alarming phase of the problem. Adenoids frequently result in weakened mentality and throat disorders often lead to les-

sened resistance to disease and to the break-down of health. Enlarged glands are everywhere a very common defect.

From the foregoing table, it appears that defective eyesight is less prevalent in New York City than in the other communities studied. The difference is in part due to the inclusive systems of welfare work which this city has developed. Unless previous attention has been given to a group of children, an amazing amount of defective eyesight will be found among them.

Many children suffer from orthopedic defects. These, unless remedied, may lead to a serious crippling of the child.

Defects of the heart, although not numerous, are much more important than their prevalence would indicate. The outcome is so serious that a national society to combat these troubles has been organized.

In uncultivated districts the great majority of children suffer from some defect. Out of 149 children studied by the Children's Bureau in rural Kentucky, only five were without defects and the average per person for the entire number was 4.6. Even the Gary study yielded 4.2 defects per child, a larger number being found among the older children than among the little ones.

The development of a better physical type and the conservation of our native physique and vitality therefore require vigorous action on the part of social agencies and public departments. Although some of the defects gradually disappear the great majority eventually lead to physical deterioration such as that recently uncovered in England, in the United States and elsewhere. Physical defects should be discovered the moment they appear and measures promoted for their prompt removal. In fact as we learn more about the conditions responsible for these defects we may even hope in a large proportion of cases to prevent the appearance of the defect and accordingly to utilize all the energies of the growing child for beneficent and useful physical and mental development.

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CHAPTER VIII

CARE OF HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE

The child has a right to be healthy, and society must recognize this claim by extending the opportunity. This right depends on two considerations: first, the child is too young to realize the permanent consequences of ill-health, and will therefore not guard himself against them; second, ignorant parents often fail to care properly for their children and leave them handicapped for life. Children are wards of the state and are subject to state care and protection. The authority of the parent is no longer absolute; he cannot treat his child as he will, but must defer to the social interest involved in rearing children. According to theory the child can be protected against serious delinquencies of parents, but society cannot force parents to build up the body and physique of their children so as to make them superior men and women. This task, however, is a worthy one and should not be neglected.

The health interests of the child are of several varieties, viz., protection against disease, detection of physical defects, and their removal, and physical training and education. Not until children were congregated in schoolrooms did the danger from disease appear, and not until then were systems of medical inspection of schools adopted. These, furthermore, have met with considerable objection because of the principles that were involved.

1. The Problem of Medical Inspection.

a. Theory of Inspection.

The medical inspection of school children was first justified on the theory that it was a legitimate exercise of the police

power of the state. The schoolroom is an ideal place for the diffusion of contagious diseases, and is a clearing house for the diseases of the community. If diseases can be checked at their source and an epidemic prevented, the public health is protected. Medical inspection therefore depends on the same principles as quarantine laws, the establishment of pest-houses, and the refusal to permit unvaccinated children to enter school.

The medical inspection of schools at first accorded with this theory, and was practically restricted to the detection of contagious diseases. In this work Europe led the way, for as early as 1867 a number of German cities adopted some system of inspection. They were followed by Austrian cities in 1873, Belgian cities in 1874, and French cities in 1884. In the United States the beginnings of inspection were made in Philadelphia in 1890, but were shortly abandoned. A few years afterwards —1894—Boston provided for limited inspection and was later copied by other cities. In New York City, inspection was at first limited to sixteen different diseases, but this was considered too broad a work, so seven of the diseases were selected and inspection limited to the task of detecting them. Since then, of course, this policy has been reversed.

Medical inspection has been extended on the theory that social progress requires such extension. Society is justified not only in defending itself against dangerous disease, but also in fortifying the physique of its constituent members. To-day we feel justified in building for the next generation, and interfere with a condition that threatens to imperil the future social and economic welfare of the individual. Only in this way can misery and distress be prevented. Abnormal conditions are a burden to society and involve heavy costs, and since their prevention is regarded as legitimate work, medical inspection has been extended to include the detection of the minor diseases of the child and finally to examination for physical and mental defects. In some localities this still seems to be an unjustifiable interference with personal liberty, but the people are rapidly refusing to be guided by silly sentiment that retards the cause

of social reform. Capacity for self-support is more desirable than freedom from the piercing eye of the physician.

b. The Scope of Inspection.

The ground covered by inspection depends largely on the attitude of the board having control of the work. If guided by the old theory, inspection is limited to a few diseases; if not, a physical examination of the child is made, and a program of physical improvement adopted. No system of inspection is complete unless the following points are covered.

(1) Diseases of Every Description.

Contagious diseases must be watched most closely, and no cases of disease should be overlooked. Children suffering from diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, chickenpox, whooping cough, smallpox, mumps, and tuberculosis, and other general contagious diseases are usually excluded from the schools. In addition certain other diseases ordinarily exclude children from school unless they receive prompt attention at home, the principal ones being acute cases of contagious skin or eye disease and of pediculosis.

(2) Mental Defects.

A careful mental classification of the children should be made, and this can be done by applying some of the recently devised mentality tests. The way will then be paved for appropriate handling of children in school as well as for the introduction of ways of removing the remediable defects.

(3) Physical Defects.

Under this head should be included physical abnormalities, such as a crippled condition or physical deformities, and if possible the causes of such abnormalities should be unearthed. Special attention should be paid to the sense organs, since defective eyesight is one of the most common hindrances to children in their work. Shortsightedness and focal inequalities —the two principal forms of eye trouble—must be cared for in order to avoid serious consequences. Pupils, if apprised of these defects, may seek relief, and parents should be informed of the needs. Delay is altogether too dangerous.

Deafness should be detected. This often causes the teacher to misunderstand and even misuse the child, and it seriously retards his development. Adenoids and defective breathing are equally important, for their effect on mentality is so serious that prompt attention should be given. Enlarged tonsils are a prominent symptom of defectiveness, and their influence likewise is harmful. Stammering, although not common, is a great handicap. Special classes for stammerers depend upon some plan for proper segregation. Malnutrition should be distinguished from other defects so that its prompt removal may be effected. Weaknesses of the heart, tuberculosis, curvature of the spine, flatfoot, nervousness, and other defects should be noted.

Although the most numerous of all defects, defective teeth have until recently been considered of minor importance; they need special attention because they contribute to malnutrition, indigestion, and other ailments. Other defects of a less serious nature will be discovered.

2. Organization of Medical Inspection.

The organization of a system of inspection is strongly influenced by the ground to be covered by the work. Medical inspection to detect dangerous communicable disease has been followed so rapidly by examination for non-communicable diseases and for mere physical defects, that the problem of organization, formerly very simple, has become a more difficult one and has involved the authority of the schools. Whether medical inspection of the schools should be a function of the board of health or of the board of education has therefore become a mooted question. The health departments wish to obtain jurisdiction over the health of the school children in order to lessen disease, while boards of education claim that the work is only a special application of the functions of their department of hygiene. The detection of contagious diseases is a necessary part of the work of the health department, and the danger of epidemics makes watchfulness on its part absolutely necessary. Compulsory vaccination, effectual quaran-

tine, and other precautionary methods have been established by this department, and the logical development of its work carries it into the school to detect evidences of contagion there. The work has simply become positive and preventive, instead of remaining negative, as it formerly was. Contagious disease can easily be eliminated if access to the probable agents of an epidemic can be gained in time. It seems therefore that the health bureau has a claim to the right to superintend the work of medical inspection of the schools.

The board of education, on the other hand, contends that the health, cleanliness, and physical condition of the school child, apart from the presence of contagious disease, are closely bound up with his school work, and that therefore the best results can be achieved only by placing the medical inspectors under its direction. The chief demands made upon the school physician are the adaptation of the pupil to the conditions of the school and the removal of minor defects. Contagious disease cases form a very small part of the total number of cases needing attention—probably not more than 4 to 5 per cent in most cities. The great proportion of the inspector's work is more closely allied to the natural functions of the teacher than to those of the representatives of the bureau of health. Defective vision, deafness, backwardness, adenoids, defective teeth, and subnormal physical development directly affect capacity for education and determine the methods of instruction that should be applied. The promotion of health means the promotion of education. Accordingly, the board of education considers medical inspection a mere extension of the work of its hygiene and physical exercise departments. Teachers and parents are a very necessary part of the system, and the entire building equipment of the schools is involved, including the facilities for play that may be provided.

In actual practice the cities in which medical inspection is of longest standing are doing the work under the guidance of their health departments. The system began owing to the presence of contagious disease in the schools. It was natural for the

health officials to use this method of checking epidemics, and school boards did not consider inspection as one of their duties. But a foothold once established, the boards of health have been loath to relinquish it. In fact, they have increased their functions to include the detection of non-contagious defects. Of the first 10 cities of over 200,000 population in the United States, 9 began medical inspection as a branch of the health department. Several boards of health, notably those of New York City and Boston, have established bureaus of child hygiene which deal with this problem.

Medical inspection, to have value, involves a readjustment of the child to the conditions in the school and the adaptation of the school to the needs of the pupils. These tasks belong principally to the educational agencies; hence the school boards began to realize their duties and their opportunities. Accordingly they have introduced systems of medical inspection and examination of school children. The majority of large cities recently adopting a system of inspection have done so through their school boards, and the present tendency is clearly in the direction of enlarging the work of the departments of school hygiene to cover this work. On the whole, this development is a desirable one.

In a few cities the work is done conjointly by the two boards, but this system tends to create confusion and endangers the efficiency of the inspection, and especially of the remedial work which follows and which gives value to the examination of the child. Joint responsibility is not proving successful because of the friction which it engenders and the consequent impossibility of securing the best results. Most of the remedial work and the statistical tabulations, including the keeping of records, will in any case remain a part of the task of the school authorities. As the efficiency of physical examination increases, greater emphasis is placed on correlating school conditions with the physical status of the children, and less attention relatively is given to the cases of disease that may be discovered. The chief object becomes health promotion.

3. Methods of Examination.

a. Medical Inspection.

In most small towns systems of medical inspection are entirely absent. In some, the teachers on discovering a case of apparent sickness of serious character report the case, and the child is sent home or the physician comes to the school to make an examination. Under these conditions it is chiefly through the alertness of the teacher that contagious disease is checked. In larger cities medical inspection is often confined to a certain proportion of the schools, while the remainder are handled in a manner similar to that of the small towns. Again, all the schools may be covered for medical inspection; that is, for the detection of a small number of contagious diseases, but only a part of the schools for the physical examination of the children. Many of the cities having medical inspection also include a program of physical examination for part or all of the school children. Regardless of the department which undertakes the work, physicians must be used to make the actual inspections.

Each inspector should have assigned to him a number of schools, all of which must be visited in the routine of his work. In New York City each inspector visits about 8 schools, which have a registration of approximately 10,000 pupils. At stated intervals it should be the duty of the inspector to examine every child in each school, but usually the number of inspectors has not been sufficient to do the work acceptably. The daily visit to a school should be for the purpose of understanding the graver ailments of the child; a clinic or examination room should be provided, and only such children should be sent to the inspector as require examination. The principal matters of interest should be: the detection of contagious diseases and the exclusion from school of the affected children; the inspection of children who have returned to school after exclusion on account of disease or other cause; also the examination of those who have been recently treated and of those who are plainly in need of treatment. Suspicious cases should always be referred to the inspector by the teacher or by the trained nurse,

and parents should be notified or children referred to appropriate places for treatment.

In some instances it will be necessary for the physician to follow the child into the home, but this task should usually belong to the school nurse. Treatment by the physician in the home will not be welcomed by the medical fraternity, which depends for its subsistence upon the fees received from private practice. It is well at the present time not to interfere too seriously with the work of the practicing physician, although means must be provided for those who are unable to command the private services of a physician. On the other hand, health is a matter of public concern, and the public physician must sooner or later perform the regular task of giving medical attention to all.

b. Physical Examination.

If possible, a physical examination should be made of every child. Such examination should be thorough according to the method of several German cities. It should, in the first place, cover all minor defects; then the general physical constitution, chest measurement, weight, height, condition of the skin, spine, eyelids, sense organs, etc., should be carefully noted and recorded. The information thus obtained would be useful for both immediate and comparative purposes, and should furnish the basis for a constructive program of physical development. It is probably more important at present to emphasize the so-called minor defects, such as defects of hearing, of vision, and of breathing, defective teeth, enlarged tonsils, tuberculosis, and malnutrition. An examination for general physical conditions, however, must eventually be correlated with a plan of physical training.

In a city where the number of examinations is limited because of an inadequate force of physicians, three groups of children should receive special attention: children beginning school, those about to graduate or expecting to drop out, and special cases referred by the teachers or nurses because of apparent existence of injurious physical defects. Then if time

allows, an examination of the remainder may be made. Every school child during the course of his elementary school career should undergo a number of physical examinations. Then only will he properly safeguard his body and physique.

The results of examinations are recorded, and if serious defects are disclosed, the parents are notified and requested to give the child proper treatment. If this recommendation is disregarded, a system of follow-up work is required to secure results. Many cities endeavor to procure the coöperation of parents so that the defects of the children may be corrected. Usually the school nurse makes the necessary contacts.

c. Examinations by Teachers.

The function of the teachers in an examination of school children is limited by some thinkers to the giving of information as to defects, and to the reporting of cases needing special examination. Massachusetts, however, in 1906 invested the teachers with the power and duty of testing the children for sight and hearing. The law has proved a distinct success, and other states have begun to copy the plan. Teachers should be required to report findings of serious defects to the boards of health or other competent bodies, so as to prevent possible abuse. The training of teachers in methods of testing sight and hearing is necessary to make the plan successful. Then it can be instituted in every school throughout a state—in rural districts and in cities alike—except where a system of medical inspection has been adopted. The beginnings of a state-wide system can well be made by requiring such examinations by the teachers.

4. The Removal of Defects.

The removal of the minor defects of children depends primarily upon the efficiency of the school nurse. Briefly stated, her duties should consist of the following tasks:

a. The treatment of the minor cases which the medical inspector orders sent to her. These include numerous skin diseases, some of which may be contagious; cuts; sprains; certain affections of the eye, etc.

b. Instruction in regard to pediculosis and the nature of the home treatment required.

c. The detection of minor cases of disease among the pupils and the summary exclusion of cases showing symptoms of a serious contagious disease. In New York City beginning January, 1912, the control of contagious diseases was placed in the nurses' hands so as to give physicians time to make physical examinations of the children.

d. Visits to the homes, so as to advise parents as to methods of treatment, and when necessary to impress upon them the need of medical attention. In some cities the nurses frequently attend the child to the hospital or dispensary.

e. The keeping of records showing the physical condition of the child. Besides these general duties, subsidiary ones are common, such as the exclusion of children on account of unsatisfactory vaccination. Underfed and dirty children also receive the nurses' attention.

School nurses frequently handle about five schools each, visiting each school every day, but they cannot make detailed examinations on every visit. The treatment of cases requires much time, and an enormous amount of work must be done. A nurse should not be required to minister to the needs of more than 2000 children, although at present most large cities assign to her the care of nearly twice this number. The school nurses have been most efficient in reducing the number of children excluded from school. By treating minor diseases they have removed the dangers of contagion and have prevented an enormous shrinkage in school attendance.

The number of physical defects recorded from year to year is an indication of the success attained, both in discovering and in dealing with these defects. In considering results we must keep in mind the fact that treatments which involve operations are difficult to handle. As a general rule, such operations are performed at some clinic or dispensary and not at the school. If the parents fail to take action either because of poverty or unwillingness, the health and education of the

child may suffer severely. Permission must be secured from the parents to allow the operation, and if they object practically nothing can be done. The states are, however, beginning to consider compulsory measures. England has already done so, and it is probable that in the United States the term "neglected child" can be so expanded in meaning as to cover those cases of children suffering from serious physical defects whom parents refuse to have treated. In that case such children will come under the supervision of the courts and parents will be compelled to attend to their needs or the state will perform the service directly. The school nurse, however, has proved a valuable substitute for law. The postal card notifications in New York City resulted in obtaining treatment for only about 6 per cent of the reported children, but this proportion rose to 83 per cent (care of defective teeth excluded) as a result of the system of home visits carried out by the school nurses.

The following table gives the proportion of various defects found among children in New York City in the years 1910, 1915, 1920.

PROPORTION OF DEFECTS AMONG CHILDREN IN NEW YORK CITY, 1910, 1915, 1920

	1910	1915	1920
Number examined	266,426	278,174	243,416
Percentage needing treatment	73.9	74.0	70.0
Defects, percentage having			
Defective vision	11.1	8.9	7.9
Defective hearing	0.6	0.7	0.4
Defective teeth	61.6	64.7	61.8
Defective nasal breathing	15.4	10.0	11.6
Enlarged tonsils	18.7	11.6	15.3
Malnutrition	3.3	6.3	17.5

These figures show but little change in proportion of children needing treatment. Some defects have declined but others, particularly malnutrition, indicate a considerable increase. Without doubt in the later years examination has been more

careful and follow-up work more effective. Nevertheless the yearly grind of work permits of no relaxation, and the reason is partly the perennial crop of children recruited from the pre-school ages who have had little or no attention paid to their physical defects.

In most communities when a definite system of medical inspection has been organized, the proportion of defects among the older children has been reduced. Parents are persuaded to obtain treatment for their children and cases of poverty are referred to relief organizations. Recent years have shown great gains in the reduction of defective vision and defective hearing.

Among the minor diseases that constitute a serious menace is pediculosis. In New York City in 1920, one-fourth of the school children examined suffered from this ailment. Humiliating proportions have been disclosed by the figures from other cities. The most serious cases are usually excluded from school, but the great majority are treated by the school nurse. Although considerable success has been attained in some communities in uprooting the evil, its elimination is well-nigh impossible. Too many parents do not feel the disgrace and decline to coöperate with the nurses in a program of treatment. Nevertheless children must be instructed in hygiene, in cleanliness and must be taught to take intelligent care of themselves. Parents must learn how to treat children and must maintain higher ideals; for in spite of the prevalence of pediculosis even the most humble apartment can avoid it.

Defects of the teeth are more numerous than all the other physical defects combined, and but little advance has been made in reducing them. Among the important steps taken is instruction of children in the proper care of teeth, such instruction being given in the schoolroom to the children having defective teeth and in the homes by the school nurses when engaged in follow-up work. Other methods of care or relief include extraction and filling of teeth. Provision to meet this need is a recent development and has come about through a

better understanding of the relation of bad teeth to malnutrition, health, backwardness, and retardation. For example, a study of the effects of dental service in Cleveland indicated that the children treated gained 37 per cent in working efficiency.

Recent investigations have disclosed the fact that lack of proper nutrition is partly responsible for poorly developed and easily decaying teeth and that various habits, for example thumb-sucking, prevent regular growth and development. The effects of food are also indicated by the general superiority of the teeth of primitive peoples compared with those of the civilized and particularly of people living in cities. The human tooth was not evolved in the modern dining room.

Systems of dental inspection and dental clinics are necessary to remedy actual defects of the teeth. Accordingly, some cities have supplemented the medical inspection with dental inspection carried on by dentists, or the teeth are also examined, but by the regular medical inspectors.

Dental clinics have developed principally in connection with dental schools and dispensaries, and usually treat both children and adults. In some of these, teeth are extracted free and a small charge is made for fillings, but others are entirely free. In certain cases dentists do under-price work for children when recommended by the school nurses. Since dental treatment is expensive, a large proportion of school children cannot afford it, but on the other hand, the effects of bad teeth are so damaging that opportunity for dental treatment must be afforded to all. Therefore, a system of public clinics seems desirable. Here children can have all service performed without charge and the cost of the material can be borne by the parents, or if necessary by private or public philanthropy.

In most of the large cities a public effort is being made to provide clinics for the children. The prevalent method is to locate the clinic in a public school building, and in the majority of cases the administration is likewise under the board of education. However, in some cities the work is managed by

the health department. A very large part, but a gradually declining proportion, of the dental service is provided by such agencies as settlements, dispensaries, hospitals and medical schools. But the care of the teeth is not a philanthropic problem: it is a matter of social concern.

Eventually we will provide children with good teeth just as we provide them with education. Nor will good teeth pauperize a child. They will make him a better man and her a better woman.

5. Progress of Medical Inspection.

Philadelphia was the first American city to attempt any form of medical examination, by appointing several physicians to test children for vision. Objections arose, especially from parents, so the attempt was abandoned. Later Boston began the work of medical inspection under the control of the board of health. The schools were divided into 50 districts, and as the work has expanded, a corps of nurses, working under the direction of the school authorities, has been created. Some cities began with the aid of private philanthropies, which furnished nurses and physicians. A complete system of inspection in the large cities requires an army of officials, and for this reason the system has not been extended so as to cover entire cities, but has been confined to the poorer sections, where the need is greatest.

Practically every city of considerable size now has some system of inspection. In the larger cities a corps of physicians is usually employed while in many smaller towns a school nurse is used and certain cases are referred to the family physician or to physicians regularly designated for assistance in this respect.

Various states have also attempted to work out plans. Connecticut began in 1899 by requiring tests for vision. Other states followed with more inclusive laws, for example, in Massachusetts each school board is required to appoint one or more school physicians and in New York medical inspection must be introduced into all the public schools. Most of the

states have made some provision along these lines. Among the principal features of the laws are provisions for the inspection of school buildings; medical examination of teacher; tests for sight and hearing; inspection for communicable diseases, examination for physical defects, employment of nurses for follow-up work, instruction of teachers in hygiene and punishment of parents who neglect to correct defects that may prove serious to the child. The laws of some states apply to their larger cities only and in other states are merely permissive. A number of states have also enacted physical education laws. These laws, while aiming to develop physical capacity, remain ineffective unless they stimulate or require proper physical examination of the children. Nevertheless they represent the latest development in legislation of this character. The revelations made by the war are largely responsible for this movement.

Unfortunately the rural districts of the country are still largely neglected and few health examinations are being made. In some communities local or county health units have made a beginning: in others the only work done is that performed by the public health nurse. To be successful it will usually require some county-wide organization either public or private. The local districts cannot manage the problem and a state bureau could not build up an adequate form of inspection.

6. Health Instruction in the Schools.

Examination of children and removal of their defects do not meet the health problem. School children should be taught how to keep well and how to avoid the development of defects, provided such knowledge is available. Much important information can be presented to the child in ways that will produce lasting effects. The so-called "modern health crusade" has much to commend it. In simple stimulating manner it brings out the essential needs for the maintenance of health, the foods and habits that are to be avoided, and methods of protection from disease. How far such instruction can be yoked up with the play spirit remains to be seen, but its general usefulness is

assured. If the child can become habituated to the task of observing his changing physical conditions, a large part of the work will have been accomplished. As he changes in height and weight and develops or loses certain powers he becomes more alert to the causes and conditions responsible for the transition. Much can be done in the schools through the regular teacher, but part of the program depends on the school nurse and some may even devolve on the school physician.

7. The Pre-School Child.

The program so far outlined and the accompanying discussion has related largely to the school child. In fact the movement began with the school child. However, the logic of its revelations carries us into the domain of the pre-school child who has been a seriously neglected individual.

The infant-welfare crusade has stopped with the baby of one or two and medical inspection began with the kindergarten or first grade child. Between the two groups lies another group roughly from two to six years of age. They are relatively safe from the attacks of diarrhœa and enteritis; they have good vitality; their death rate is exceedingly low; they are at home; the community sees them but seldom; they have been forgotten. Recently they have been discovered. The child entering school for the first time has too many defects and his physical condition too often interferes with his educational advancement. Why not apply the ounce of prevention? Why not study and examine the child without cessation from infancy on through this age as well as through the next? Appreciation of the social importance of this step has led to the organization of a health program for the pre-school child.

The program itself is not peculiar in character: in fact it is little more than the extension of facilities for the care of infants or of school children to include the pre-school child. The health or infant welfare stations should widen their age limits, make careful physical examinations of the children, advise treatment, see that the advice is followed, instruct parents and coöperate with other agencies in safeguarding child life. For

the under-nourished, nutrition work is necessary. To accomplish this aim home visiting must be definitely organized, and principles of housekeeping, home-making and proper feeding be taught.

The hygiene department of the board of education can also give effective service. The experiment made in New York City whereby the schools undertook to examine in June children expecting to enter the schools in September represents a most enlightened view in regard to a wise method of handling at least some of the younger children. Such a service also facilitates the introduction of the much needed psychological tests. Their defects removed or mitigated, the children enter school with excellent prospects of successful educational attainment. Their mentality measurably determined they can be classified properly and their education better adapted to their various abilities.

Dr. Richard M. Smith of Boston has suggested the following considerations as most important in a plan for the handling of the pre-school child: [1]

Physical, mental and moral aspects	Nutrition
	Posture or bodily mechanic
	Development of teeth
	Free nasal breathing
	Protection from contagious disease
	Hygiene and daily routine of living
	Establishment of habits.

A program based on these factors deals not only with the physical and medical aspects of child life but with the social and moral as well. It is the pre-school child particularly that is the father of the man.

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CHAPTER IX

CARE AND TRAINING OF PHYSICAL DEFECTIVES

It is rapidly being conceded that the school authorities must educate the exceptional as well as the normal children. The blind or deaf child should not be educated by philanthropy but by the public schools. The education of these classes must not interfere with that of the normal children, but all are entitled to the advantage of an education, even though the labor expended on one group exceed that expended on another. A thorough medical examination must precede the separation of children into groups or classes for special instruction. Those physically incapable of meeting the ordinary requirements of regular class work need to be segregated for special instruction, some to be educated by the local school board, some by the state. The better known groups are the blind and the deaf, but additional ones are the crippled, those having defective speech, and the anæmic and tubercular group. The last is the most numerous of all.

1. The Blind.

Every state should provide an institution for the education of its blind, and provision for the maintenance of the children in whole or in part must also be made. The state schools should enroll all blind children in the country districts and the smaller communities where the number of blind is not sufficient to make the establishment of classes for the blind possible. Education should be compulsory and a charge levied against the community so as not to discriminate against the locality that educates its blind directly. The state must make ample provision for the indigent blind and insist on educating them,

and if necessary it must pay all expenses directly. It is far better to spend money on the education of blind children than to give permanent relief in the form of pensions. The cities must establish independent facilities for educating this class. Although a number of the schools for the blind in the United States were established by private philanthropy, the duty of the public to perform this function is universally recognized.

The state schools for the blind in the United States have an enrollment of over 5000 pupils, a large proportion of whom are over 14 years of age. In some of the large cities classes for the blind have been established by the local boards of education. Some experiments have also been made with the blind in classes with the seeing pupils.

In each of the elementary schools for the blind in Chicago, special apparatus is provided and special teachers are placed in charge. The pupils are taught the Braille system of print and are assisted in the preparation of their work. They divide their time between their special rooms and the regular classrooms; they recite with the regular classes in reading when they reach the third grade and thereafter; they usually enter the classes for language and music from the beginning and wherever possible they are given the opportunity to recite with seeing pupils. In Cleveland the blind children recite in the regular classes in the upper grades only. Such a program is carried out partly to reduce the cost of education and partly to bring the child in touch with the outside world and to make the seeing pupils more sympathetic. Most cities adhere to the old custom of educating the blind separately.

A number of states now subsidize a local school board for the establishment of local classes for the blind. In Missouri the state pays a maximum of $750 to a local school board for a class of 10 pupils or more.

A more recent development is the establishment of classes for the semi-sighted. Such pupils should be taught neither in the regular schools nor in those for the blind. They will unduly strain and misuse their eyes in either type of school

and should therefore be trained under conditions adapted to their weakened eyesight. Classes for this group were first established in this country in Boston about 1913. In Ohio there has been a considerable development of the plan particularly in the larger cities. Sight-saving classes have also enjoyed some prestige in about a dozen of the other largest cities of the country. The fact that the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind discovered that 4 per cent of the school children examined had less than one-half normal vision indicates the need of a growing appreciation of the importance of adapted educational facilities for this large group of children. Specially trained teachers are not so important as more individual instruction and more material for demonstration purposes. Special classes should obviate the retardation and repetitions which convict the present system and handicap the child in his training for life.

The preliminary education of the blind both in state and city schools is similar to that of seeing children. It is naturally somewhat slower, and the majority of children are in the lower grades. Reading is comparatively slow work, but the Braille system of print makes writing by the blind simpler than before, and relief maps are used, for the sense of touch must be substituted largely for that of sight. On the whole, the education of the blind must proceed along physical and industrial lines. Compelled to grope about, the blind lose their firm and erect posture, and unless carefully trained they suffer much physically; consequently systematic gymnastic exercise, athletic sports, and various recreations must be provided. Heart and lung action is improved thereby and a better posture is assured.

Although the blind can acquire a considerable formal education because of their hearing, the problem of self-support is a difficult one because so little can be done without the eyesight. While the blind may rise to high intellectual levels, they are not easily made capable of self-support. They are restricted to a very small number of occupations, the principal ones being

teaching music, piano-tuning, broom making, chair caning, weaving, and basket making. Each student must be thoroughly trained, or competition from seeing people makes self-support impossible. If the school coöperates with the home and stimulates interest in the blind children, parents become more hopeful and better results can be achieved for the children. A serious problem in many schools for the blind is the proper segregation of boys and girls. It is difficult to prevent the blind from marrying the blind, yet nearly every instance of such marriage is a tragedy. The spirit of independence and the duty of self-support must be religiously taught or frequent intermarriages among the blind will follow and the community be compelled to support a family of children, as very few of the blind can provide for more than one additional person.

2. The Deaf.

Like the blind the deaf have been given a measure of care and training in state institutions. In the same way the work must continue for the sake of the children scattered over the state who would no doubt be neglected but for the facilities which a state can provide. Although the state institutions are fundamentally educational in character they must also minister to the needs of the indigent group.

In the cities day schools for the deaf can easily be established because the deaf can reach them without assistance. The children can be brought to some convenient location and trained under special teachers in day classes in a special building or even in a part of the regular school, but a centrally located building offers the better plan. If all the deaf can be brought together, a system of grading is made possible, economies in equipment can be made, and adequate courses in industrial training be provided.

The deaf cannot speak because they cannot hear themselves articulate, so they eventually become dumb. Formerly they were taught the sign language, using signs and gestures to express themselves, but in recent years an oral method has been developed, and children now learn to articulate by means of

"lip-reading." Many of the deaf acquire considerable power of speech, but in this respect the congenital cases are much inferior to the others, although hearing may have been destroyed within the first two years of life. The majority of children are now taught by the oral method, which enables them to converse with the hearing.

The deaf exceed the blind in numbers, therefore both in the cities and throughout the states the student body is larger than that of the blind.

Practically every state now has a school for the deaf. There are also a large number of public day schools. Although Wisconsin and Michigan lead in the number, other states are rapidly inaugurating the system, the stimulation being due in part to the state plan that is becoming popular. There are also 20 private schools for the deaf but their enrollment is rather meager. Intellectually the deaf suffer serious disadvantages. The blind can master a formal education more rapidly than can the deaf, and their scholastic attainments are much superior, but that eyesight is an invaluable asset for industrial efficiency is evidenced by the fact that few of the deaf receive charitable relief while many of the blind are so assisted.

The majority of the deaf are physically subnormal, this condition being both cause and effect. An important effect is inferior lung and chest development, due in part to the faliure to use the organs of speech. The oral method of communication will lessen the difficulty, but physical training is necessary to develop properly every part of the body that fails to receive sufficient exercise. The deaf shuffle their feet, walk awkwardly, and are poorly balanced. Industrial training is very important, and certain occupations are so adapted to the deaf that self-support is within the reach of all. The state schools especially, but some of the city schools as well, emphasize vocational training,—cooking, sewing, and household economy being taught the girls, while the boys do shopwork and learn sign-painting, bookbinding, pottery, and printing. In a limited number of occupations a sense of hearing is not necessary

either for efficiency or for protection against accident. Such occupations naturally become the field of work for the deaf.

3. Crippled Children.

While institutional care must be provided for many crippled children, there are a large number who are simply in need of educational facilities. Some must eventually become self-supporting or become dependent upon the public. An adaptable education is therefore necessary. Besides, the cripple misses the joy which comes from play, and exercise with an abundance of good cheer must be provided to keep him happy.

In London excellent provision is made for crippled children, sixteen day schools having been established, with accommodations for 1100 children who are provided with meals, the public authorities furnishing nurses and paying half of the expense of the cooks, besides the building equipment. Parents are required to pay a small sum to help defray expenses and charitable funds supply the remainder. In the United States a number of cities—notably New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit—make some provision for crippled children. New York City has about 50 classes, in one-third as many buildings, and nearly 1000 children are enrolled. These classes are made convenient to pupils, being usually on the first floor and close to play facilities, and the board of education operates a number of stages that convey the children to the schools, but private philanthropy assists in this work. In Chicago the crippled children are gathered together in a few schools by the transportation facilities provided by the school authorities. This is as it should be, and is the most convenient arrangement. Noon lunches are also provided gratis by the Chicago school board. Many crippled children need to be placed under orthopedic care, as their physical weakness frequently prevents heavy work in the schools. Consequently slow progress must be tolerated.

Crippled children have usually been overlooked by the educational authorities if they were found by the truant officers to be incapable of attending school unassisted. This discovery

has been sufficient to permit continued non-attendance. The various social agencies that come in contact with the untaught crippled child in his home have given impetus to the movement among the schools to establish special educational facilities for children too crippled to compete with the normal child. Since many of these children need orthopedic care, they have been considered outside the proper jurisdiction of the school board. The new view, however, demands that education be provided, that appropriate equipment be obtained by the schools, that some system of transportation be provided, and that a plan of coöperation between the department of school hygiene and the private or public philanthropies providing orthopedic care be carefully followed. Where private institutional care is provided, adequate educational facilities are also necessary.

A beginning has been made in the development of state schools for the crippled. In 1897 Minnesota appropriated a sum of money for the state care of crippled children, and in 1909 it gave additional funds for the establishment of permanent buildings.

Several states have established similar institutions, but the most noted development probably is the establishment of the home for crippled children by the state of Iowa. This home is located within a short distance of the hospital connected with the University Medical School. Accordingly the children receive the most expert orthopedic care, are maintained as long as feasible and are also taught in special classes maintained for them. The home is open to any crippled child in the state and inability to pay is no bar to admission.

4. **Tubercular and Anæmic Children.**

The schools must undertake to give every child a proper physical training, and must attend to the body as well as to the mind. Medical inspection and physical examination of children are only the first steps toward an elaborate system of training which will develop each child and strengthen his subnormal organs as far as possible. To this end the anæmic and tubercular should be separated from the normal groups of

children and should receive special care; but, in addition, efforts should be made to keep children from becoming weak. Consequently the school must carefully guard the physique of its children, yet so far it has done but little in this line. It is still too absorbed in its literary curriculum.

Germany opened the way for the development of schools for the tubercular and pre-tubercular children. In 1904 an open air school was established in a pine forest near Charlottenburg—a suburb of Berlin. Shelters were erected to protect the children from inclement weather, but the major portion of the time was spent out in the open air invigorated by the odor of the pines. Weak and anæmic children and those touched as yet but lightly by disease were selected for the experiment, but acute tuberculosis cases were not received, and in all, 107 children were admitted. The school lasted for three months during the summer season. The routine consisted of breakfast, class instruction, light luncheon, physical exercises, rest, dinner, sleep, food, instruction, and play, special emphasis being placed on good food. The periods of school work were made comparatively short, and adequate sleep and rest were provided. Remarkable results were soon noticeable: many children were cured; most of them gained in weight; they improved in general attention and temperament, and were remarkably successful in their school work. The school was enlarged until it included 250 pupils, and was operated for an eight months' term. Other schools were subsequently established.

London opened its first open air school in 1907, and at once achieved remarkable results similar to the effects observed in the German school. A number of such schools have been established in other parts of England, and several schools for active tuberculosis cases are also being maintained by the educational authorities. The latter are closely allied to the hospital or sanitarium schools in the United States. The London Charity Organization Society has favored sending three classes of children to these schools: those returning from sanitaria; those suffering from tuberculosis; and the children from tubercular

homes. The distinction made between active cases and those predisposed is apparently very loose. Both types of schools are making progress.

The first American experiment with an open air school was made in Providence in 1908, but Boston and New York soon followed.[1] Since then scores of cities have joined the procession and are providing open air treatment. Perhaps New York City is the best example of consistent progress since in 1921 it had in operation 113 open air classes in 76 different school buildings with an enrollment of more than 3000 children.

This movement has had a very interesting history. Private societies have to a very considerable extent taken the initiative in the establishment of the schools; then the assistance of the educational authorities has been secured. When once established, the school boards have gladly developed the system. Why in some cases the medical examiners dismissed children from school because they were a source of danger and the school authorities neglected such children entirely it is difficult to say. Anti-tuberculosis and charitable societies then coming in touch with such cases have agitated for the proper treatment and education of the children.

The cities disagree as to an ideal site for the establishment of open air schools. Some use the regular school building by simply transforming part of it into an open air room, which can be done quite easily, thereby reducing the cost of equipment. Roofs have been used to some extent. It is an advantage to rise beyond the murky air of the street, and good results have been secured in this way. In many cities special buildings are favored, and these may be of various kinds, some substantial, others a mere shelter. Undoubtedly much would be gained if the open air schools and classes could be located in healthful districts, where smoke and bad city odors cannot reach them, where the air is fresh, and where opportunity is given for the enjoyment of both sun and shade. Prac-

[1] Ayres, L. P., Address on "Open Air Schools" before Seventh Annual Meeting for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

tical considerations often prevent this, and fairly good results can be obtained by out-door treatment under ordinary conditions.

From the beginning difficulties over the distribution of the cost of maintenance have arisen between the coöperating parties. In about three-fourths of the cases some private philanthropy is assisting in financing the enterprise. The school board usually pays for the building and its equipment and also for the teacher. Private associations pay for the cots, quilts, special clothing, nurses, cooks, and food. The question naturally rises where can a line be drawn between the obligations of the educational authorities, on the one hand, and those of philanthropy, on the other. The tendency is unquestionably in the direction of greater latitude among school boards and away from the obligations of private philanthropy. While some school boards defray the entire cost directly, others coöperate with the department of public charities. The restrictions placed on the use of educational funds have prevented many school boards from venturing as far as they otherwise would. On the other hand, many men consider these limitations just. The schools, however, have gone far in the direction of maintaining certain groups temporarily, such as delinquent children in parental schools. Is not the maintenance of an open air school quite as justifiable? However, there has been less opposition to the division of the expenditure between the school board and the department of public charities. The physical and mental improvement of this class of children is of intense social importance, and the work must be done largely by the public, for enough work still remains for private philanthropy.

The New York City practice illustrates the types of children properly admissible to open air classes. They are as follows: [1]

1. Children exposed to tuberculosis.
2. Children who had tuberculosis, which is now arrested.
3. Children suffering from malnutrition.

[1] New York City Annual Report of Department of Health, 1920, p. 201.

4. Children who become tired easily.
5. Children frequently absent from school because of bronchitis.
6. Children suffering from certain nervous diseases.
7. Children suffering from cardiac disease, if recommended by responsible physician.

Children actually suffering from tuberculosis are not generally admitted to open air schools or classes. Nevertheless a plan of treatment is likewise necessary for them. They should be provided with hospital facilities and unless too ill be expected to carry on their school work under the guidance of a teacher provided by the board of education. Institutional treatment without school training is usually wearisome and also constitutes a serious loss of time. If a child has not advanced to the stage where he properly becomes a hospital case he may be placed in a residential open air school and spend both day and night under conditions favorable to his recuperation.

Happily the lesson of open air schools tends to reach the normal child. If work in the open air is advantageous to the anæmic and under-nourished child, is it not also a boon to other children? The answer to this question is the multiplication of outdoor classes during the favorable parts of the school season and the establishment of open window and low temperature rooms for all. In the Far West much school work is done out of doors, while Chicago and Boston are among the cities that have introduced the open-window plan. Unfortunately the ventilation of school buildings has regularly constituted a serious problem. It has not been sufficient to relieve children from the many hours of indoor confinement with short periods of recess. Too often the school building has merely prepared the pupil for admissibility to the open air class. He should have wholesome air at all times.

Artificial methods of ventilation have not been entirely successful; only too often windows have remained closed, while fresh air has not been obtained. Children should be allowed from 1800 to 2100 cubic feet of fresh air per hour,

but in actual practice, lack of ventilation or failure of ventilating systems frequently reduces this volume to very unhealthful proportions.

Results in the United States have been similar to the ones mentioned in connection with the experience of Charlottenburg. In general, our fresh air schools have limited their membership to not more than 30 pupils each. Otherwise more than one nurse would be required in each school, and the teacher likewise would be overworked. After several months of training and experience in an open air school children are usually ready to resume their places in the regular classes in the schools. They generally make more than normal progress in their studies, besides gaining in weight and in stature. The St. Louis Open Air School reported one gain of 23 pounds in five months; also the completion of two and three-fourths years of school work in 12 months. Though originally subnormal, the majority gain more rapidly than do ordinary children; they acquire a better disposition and become more hopeful toward life; they also learn of the curative value of fresh air and of sunshine, and become centers for the radiation of a fresh air doctrine. But frequently such children have no escape from their old environment, and when they return to their homes may lose what they have gained. It has been amply shown from experience in several cities that children remaining away for several days from the open air school and living under old conditions have frequently lost in weight and in healthiness. How serious then is the problem of the child dismissed from the open air school and compelled to go back for a considerable time to the disease-producing conditions that had previously depleted his physique. In such places it is often impossible to observe the precautions necessary for the maintenance of health. When the schools have done their part, the great incubus of poverty, of slum conditions, of unsanitary housing, still remains. Until this is removed, the schools can only labor feebly with the results of conditions that will always produce the same effects. Nevertheless, the experience with the

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pupil of the open air school points unerringly to the causes of anæmia and tuberculosis, and will hasten the movement for the permanent improvement of social conditions.

5. Underfed School Children.

On account of the revelation of such a tremendous amount of malnutrition among American school children, some method of meeting the problem must be devised. One plan consists of an effort to establish a school lunch system.

In approaching this question, several propositions must be clearly understood: first, school lunches obtained at cost involve a different principle than does the free feeding of children; second, hungry children imply hungry parents. The underfed child is therefore a mere symptom of a family problem. Third, the primary function of the school relates to the education of children, and physical care provided by schools is largely a means to that end; fourth, education includes a program of physical development.

A number of European countries have tried to solve the problem by providing free meals for the school children. For example, England in 1906 empowered the educational authorities of the cities to supply food to children at the expense of the school fund, and during the first year after the enactment of this law, fifty cities took advantage of its provisions. Many children had been given relief by the "destitution authorities," but the work seemed unsatisfactory, and in 1909 more than 100,000 children were provided with free meals by the boards of education. The public assumption of this work followed a previous plan of coöperation with private philanthropy. Free feeding of children was common before the enactment of the law of 1906, but the food was provided from voluntary donations. Most of the paid service, however, and the equipment, even some of the fuel, was paid for from the school funds. Then came the final step—to provide the food. Continental countries have preceded England in radical legislation of this sort.

In the United States the free feeding of children has found

but little favor, but the large number of the underfed has forced the problem on the public. Interesting experiments have been carried on in several cities, notably in Philadelphia and in New York. In 1910 in the former city a private committee was organized among the citizens, five schools were secured, and one-cent and three-cent lunches were provided which were sold at the morning recess and at noon. Lunches were bought by 21 to 58 per cent of the children, dinners by 12 to 19 per cent; the penny lunch allowed the purchase of a single article only, but the three-cent lunch permitted a rather agreeable combination. The committee made a study of the effects, and 40 children who regularly bought dinners for a period of three months were compared with 40 who did not patronize the lunches. The children were tested for weight, stature, grip, and lung capacity, and it was found that the children fed at school averaged better in every respect than those not fed. The former had gained 1.78 pounds each, the latter only .80, a difference of nearly one pound. The former also excelled in mental ability and in behavior.

A group of philanthropic women began the work in New York City in 1909. At first they operated in seven schools, and all patrons of the lunch rooms were required to buy soup, which was served for one cent. The children might then select additional foods, each of which also cost a cent. A small number of children usually assisted in serving the meal and received free meal tickets in payment for service. In addition a few free tickets were provided for children too poor to afford a meal or who suffered severely from malnutrition. The average price per meal was approximately three cents, but the total cost, including administrative expenses, was nearly five. In three years 174,199 luncheons were served at a cost of $8640. The regular customers of the lunch rooms were confined to the very poor, but the patronage was rather general.

This service grew until in 1918 lunches were served in 58 public schools. Furthermore a greater variety of food was offered and as prices had also risen a substantial lunch re-

quired an outlay of ten cents. Nevertheless three-cent dishes were available as well as single articles costing one or two cents each. In 1920 the board of education assumed the responsibility for the school lunch systems in Manhattan, the Bronx and in Brooklyn.

Among the other large cities in which a school lunch service has been instituted are Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Orleans and Minneapolis. In addition a number of smaller cities have introduced the service but no marked progress in this respect has been made in this country. In fact many of the cities consider the service from the standpoint of convenience to the pupil rather than as a method of lessening malnutrition.

A beginning has been made in the promotion of rural school lunches. Usually the rural child is required to eat a cold lunch at noon and the food packed in pails or baskets since morning is none too palatable. He needs a hot lunch and more digestible foods. It is not a question of under-nourishment but a practical problem of well-prepared and wholesome food. The mothers in the school district can coöperate in a program of preparing hot lunches and the teachers can assist in the work directly. The United States Department of Agriculture and several state agricultural colleges have issued literature giving advice and instructions as to practical plans of operation.

Among the advantages claimed for the school lunch room are: improvement in physical condition, more alertness, greater energy, and better work; besides the children have received instruction in cleanliness, cost value of foods, table manners, and taste in the arrangement and serving of foods. The school meals have not only improved physique and stimulated study, but have also served as object lessons in household economy.

Whenever attempted in the United States, the feeding of school children has been conducted on a cost basis, but usually the price of the meals has been somewhat less than the actual cost of food and service.

While the existence of a large amount of malnutrition is

evident, and the educational authorities are gradually introducing plans for the feeding of school children, it does not follow that in the United States as in European countries the schools will assume the rôle of philanthropic agencies. They cannot undertake the difficult task of rehabilitating the families that are in poverty; they can inform parents and philanthropic agencies that certain children are suffering from malnutrition and must be cared for; that is, they can coöperate in the solution of the problem. With the machinery of public and private relief organizations in actual operation, the schools cannot afford to become supplementary relief agencies. Accordingly the free feeding of school children in American schools would be a mistake, since the idea is contrary to sound principles of relief.

The policy of providing poor school children with wholesome meals at cost is thoroughly sound and should be encouraged. Society cannot afford to neglect the child even though it cannot reconstruct and improve the parents; therefore, the school must do its part. Instead of jeopardizing the self-respect of parents and of handicapping relief agencies in their work by the giving of free meals, the schools can indirectly educate parents by providing their children with meals at cost and can prepare the children more adequately for the tasks of the schoolroom.

The work should be connected with the domestic service departments of schools, and be sufficiently systematized so that knowledge of the values of various foods, of the economy of buying, and of the amenities of the dining-room may be acquired. Such knowledge possesses much educational value, and should become a part of the mental equipment of every child. Among the ignorant and poor such knowledge is not acquired except through the schools and the philanthropic agencies.

6. The Nutrition Clinic.

More recent in its development than the school lunch is the nutrition class or clinic. Begun as early as 1908 in Boston it

has gained ground only within the last few years. The war accelerated its growth and the American Red Cross was instrumental in placing it on the map. Knowledge of the general prevalence of malnutrition also furnished the occasion for the work. A nutrition class is composed of malnourished children. These children are weighed, examined physically, taught in respect to diet and hygiene, required to observe the change in their record chart, and expected to insist on the removal of impeding physical defects. The coöperation of parents is invoked and a course of instructions given. Service of this kind requires a corps of workers consisting of physician, nurse, teacher, dentist, dietitian and social worker, and to become genuinely successful must be correlated with those other services that may be required for families from the health agencies of a community.

The success of the nutrition clinic is illustrated by the results of the experiments made by one of the large social agencies of New York City.[1] One group of school children made a gain of 75 per cent in excess of the normal, while a second group gained 120 per cent. In neither group did any children lose weight. A third group, composed of pre-school children, made a less satisfactory gain, but even this gained 59 per cent in excess of the normal. Results such as these indicate the possibilities of intensive work. The nutrition class is being rapidly introduced as one way of meeting the problem. At present it is operated by private philanthropy.

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CHAPTER X

PLAY AND RECREATION

PLAY and recreation have assumed a tremendous importance in the life of the nation. Play is common to man and the animals of the higher orders, and the speculation concerning its origin and uses has resulted in the development of several theories, chief among which are the practice, surplus energy, and recreation theories. According to the first, play is a form of practice along the lines of future methods of conduct; for example, the cat plays with the mouse but enhances her efficiency for maintaining a livelihood at the same time. The surplus energy theory assumes that play is necessary to wear off the exuberance of the young, whether man or beast; while the recreation theory claims that play is for purposes of relaxation and recovery from the tiring effect of the monotony of life. That play is of inestimable value to animal life has long since been conceded; but its usefulness to the human race has not been appreciated until within a few years. Play implies bodily movement and exercise in coöperation with others, and is a form of recreation popular with the children.

Recreation consists of several forms that differ widely in effect. It has been classified by De Groot as follows: [1]

Active—the use of muscular and nervous energy, such as baseball, swimming, etc.

Passive—watching others in an exhibition or entertainment.

Social—exchange of ideas and expressions of a joyous nature.

Active recreation he further divides into manual, rhythmic, dramatic, and athletic play. It must be evident at once that

[1] Report of the South Park Commissioners of Chicago, 1912, p. 30.

active recreation produces different results than passive or social recreation, yet each has an important function.

The problem of recreation must also be considered from the standpoint of the agency furnishing the recreation. Viewed from this angle the classification is as follows:

(1) *Public Recreation.* Under this head are included all forms of recreation provided by the city, county, state or school board. Among the facilities are parks, playgrounds, social and community centers, municipal dance halls, etc.

(2) *Semi-Public Recreation.* Fourth of July celebrations, municipal pageants, school picnics and similar activities combining the efforts of public officials and private groups.

(3) *Philanthropic Recreation.* These include the great variety of facilities offered by settlements, churches, interdenominational agencies, scout organizations and other bodies. Among the recreations are picture shows, games, dancing, socials, parties, musicals, scouting, swimming and camping.

(4) *Commercial Recreation.* This class of recreation includes practically every form of recreational activity. The term "commercial" implies that the motive is profit and that the promoters of the recreation are engaged in a business in which the article sold is recreation. The quality of the article is of less importance to the recreation merchant than is capacity to produce satisfactory financial returns. As a natural consequence commercial recreations are often socially demoralizing and become a serious public problem.

(5) *Fraternal Organizations and Clubs.* Recreational opportunities are frequently furnished by lodges, fraternal societies and by variously constituted clubs. Such facilities, however, are limited to members and their families.

(6) *Individual or Family Recreation.* These include those recreational facilities that may be enjoyed in the home. They have become increasingly important with the advent of the phonograph and the miraculous appearance of the radio. Private parties and other home recreations are included.

In practically every community each of these types of agen-

cies plays a part. In some particular type, for example, the commercialized form may predominate. In another locality the prevailing agencies may be the philanthropic. Whichever they be, the recreation problem consists in the adequate provision of wholesome recreation and in the proper coördination of the various agencies so that the social function of recreation may actually be realized.

1. Values of Recreation.

a. Physical Values.

Play, exercise, and recreation affect both body and mind, and the physical effects are very important. The total disuse of an organ tends to render it useless; for instance, a limb tightly bound for six months would lose its functions entirely or recover them with great difficulty. Consequently a reasonable exercise of the various organs of the body is necessary. The spontaneous play of children develops part, perhaps most, of the body, but no single game is adequate for the task. Fortunately the use of the same game becomes monotonous, and children vary their games because of the added pleasures which change affords. The effects are far-reaching, for the children bring a large variety of muscles into use, but a symmetrical development of the body hardly results from dependence on the spontaneous play of children. Rightly planned, organized play is necessary to accomplish this result, for many organs and parts of the body do not develop sufficiently except through exercises that are specially adapted to them.

One of the diseases which can be lessened by the organization of play is tuberculosis. A disease of filth, it will long remain with us, and a development of resisting power in the individual is absolutely necessary. The play of growing children under good surroundings will, more than any other agency, prepare the child for the struggle with this disease. Although the greatest prevalence of tuberculosis is during the adult period of life,—notably between the thirtieth and fortieth years of life,—the time for preparation against the disease is during childhood. Proper development of the appro-

priate organs forms a splendid asset for the individual when he is later exposed to the tubercular germ. Play as a precautionary measure cannot be too strongly urged, especially for weakly and subnormal children.

b. Social Values.

The social and moral influences of play produce indelible effects upon the child mind. Play is didactic, and leaves its trace for good or bad as the case may be. Unorganized and spontaneous play often develops the bully and the coward; systematic play impresses the ideals taught by organization and coöperation. One of its initial values is the recognition of mutual rights, which are but little understood by the unthinking child and, when brute force permits, are often entirely overthrown or perverted into a mere toleration of privileges. Few children are spontaneously generous; the majority are selfish and require companionship to soften their egoism. On the supervised playground, a new régime is put into operation. The right to the use of the sand pile cannot be monopolized by any ambitious player. All things are held in common, and every child must be granted an equal opportunity, so each learns that others have rights that must be respected. Our rapidly increasing density of population and the innumerable contacts involved demand a new limitation of rights and a recognition of the boundaries of the rights of the individual. Play therefore becomes a most important school of citizenship, and the social results which follow are expressed in such ethical values as order, obedience, self-denial, and discipline. The self-repression, not self-effacement, which develops from the influence of play makes obedience something more than unwilling subordination. It becomes respect for authority as well as deference to the welfare of the group.

The team work of play develops a characteristic most necessary for the success of our experiment in democratic government. This characteristic is the capacity for coöperation, which is the ideal of the democratic movement. Ability to coöperate means ability to excel, but absence of this power

means ultimate disorganization and disorder. Practice in accomplishing a given task together impresses boys and girls with the immense value of concerted action. Things must be done in unison, and every one takes part; thus the individual learns that he is necessary to the game and that without his sane coöperation neither he nor his associates will be able to enjoy themselves to the fullest extent. Thus, through practice and sheer necessity, capacity for coöperation develops. The citizen will not govern wisely until he learns the value of cooperation and until he feels himself a part of the government. If government is only partially successful, he must feel the humiliation; if it fails, he must participate in the disgrace; if it succeeds, he may rejoice in the accomplishment as he would if it were entirely his own. Good government depends upon a coöperation so intense that each accomplishment will inevitably reflect itself in the attitude of the individual. The successful adjustment of the individual characteristics to those of a group so as to make interrelations possible is a prime task of the playground and can nowhere else receive equal encouragement and development. Play will improve the good citizenship of a nation, and therefore become a safe and sane form of social insurance and a guarantee of better government. Its social importance therefore cannot be exaggerated.

One possible influence of play is less reassuring; unless it is carefully carried on, an unhealthful development of the gang spirit may result. The absence of complete democracy tends to segregate the children into antagonistic groups, among whom a spirit of intolerance may arise. Base leaders appear, and these dominate the actions of the gang, which panders to the baser instincts present on the playground. Unless hindered, the differing elements will form numerous gangs in which the spirit of true coöperation will fail and intrigue as well as enmity will control action. The principle of complete self-government cannot be successfully applied to immature minds, and play, in order to conserve its good effects and to eliminate its evil propensities, must be properly supervised.

c. Mental Values.

The child cannot play without receiving mental influences of various kinds, since play is not only educational but stimulates the capacity for mental growth. The backward child through the influence of wisely planned play grows in intelligence and becomes capable of better work. The normal child adds new mental qualities, such as initiative, alertness, mental ability, and foresight. The need of alertness stimulates the child to activity, and the task of solving the problems which every game presents requires a fresh display of initiative for each added instance. The quality of leadership develops, and this involves the use of the calculating faculties, and requires constant planning and the use of judgment. The advantages of properly conducted play have a value far in excess of the energy and cost required for competent supervision, therefore the playground movement is alive with tremendous social possibilities.

2. Recent Appreciation of Play.

The majority of parents, and of teachers as well, have regarded the play of the child as a natural but somewhat useless activity. Patents often prevent their children, especially the older ones, from indulging in play because they do not understand its character-building qualities and believe it a mere waste of time. As a needed relief from the confinement and concentration of the schoolroom, its usefulness has, however, been generally accepted. The physical effects of play received the first recognition, and its social and moral effects were unobserved until some of their necessary consequences became too patent to remain hidden from the view of the sociologist and the moralist. That some of the world's great teachers had long since recognized the uses of play is true, but the popular mind had not followed them, and the discovery had to be made anew.

The present attitude toward play is a mark of the changing tendency in regard to our many social problems. The social reformer finds that play and the playground are power-

ful agencies, which, if carefully used, will accomplish much good. The potential criminal of the slums must be transformed into a law-abiding citizen, and the indifferent must become zealous in the cause of reform. The depleted physique of the children of the poor must be renewed, and their intellectual and moral improvement required. The riotous child of the street and the gang of the dismal alley must be reclaimed and their energies directed toward nobler standards of living. To accomplish these results is the aim and hope of the advocates of the playground movement. The effects of the meager efforts that have been made to promote play have been most hopeful. The social attitude toward play is now a healthful and helpful one, but the problem is serious, owing to the difficulties which are naturally involved in furthering the playground movement.

3. Facilities for Recreation.

Play facilities should be made ample for the needs of children of various age groups and should be adapted to those needs.

As the playground must be located where the child can reach it, playground facilities must be properly distributed throughout the residential sections. The cost of adequate playgrounds and equipment is enormous, and this is partly due to the tardy recognition of the need of play space. In some cities even the school buildings are not all provided with playgrounds, and this is especially true in the slum sections where play space is most needed. Children therefore pour into the streets to organize their games and play them. Often the only open space consists of a few feet of ground immediately in front of the school building, but this, if paved with brick, becomes very unattractive, and the street is often more alluring.

a. Roof and Basement Playgrounds.

The insistent demand for play space has resulted in the use of the roof or the basement of schools for play purposes. In New York City, especially, where the tall tenement buildings

have usurped so much space, much has been accomplished by transforming the roofs of school buildings into playgrounds. These roofs are covered with wire netting or at least surrounded by a strong fence so as to make mishaps impossible. Roof gardens frequently accompany the playgrounds and are used for the cultivation of flowers and vegetables.

This method of providing play space has some advantages. In the crowded portions of cities, it is especially desirable that children come in touch with pure air and sunlight wherever possible. The atmospheric conditions on the roofs are noticeably better than those in the narrow streets. The use of roofs for open air schools and the success that has attended this movement furnish ample proof of the healthfulness of the roof playground, and several cities have resorted to its use.

However, it is often inconvenient to use the roof for playground purposes; and basements are frequently constructed to meet the need. Owing to the size of the buildings, such basements have a tremendous area and offer large opportunities for play, but the air is not always good and sweet; it is frequently dark, and sunlight is almost entirely absent. Young children, especially the ones living in unfavorable homes, should not be required to remain in basement playgrounds.

b. Streets and Vacant Lots.

In the foreign sections of our large cities, where overcrowding is common, the streets are used to a large extent by pedestrians and also by children at play. Asphalt or well-paved streets are very well adapted for this purpose. In certain sections children are tolerated in the streets and the authorities do not drive the boys into the alleys. Wagon traffic tends to avoid streets used in this way, and this increases the safety of the children. Some progress has been made in the establishment of play zones, where at certain times of the day portions of the streets are roped off by the policemen and cannot then be used for traffic, but are turned into playgrounds for the children. This gives an opportunity for play and is far better than the alley, but the street lacks the salubrity

of the park and is but a makeshift. In 1922, 53 cities increased their regular play space in this way. Many streets in the congested districts are so poorly paved that they are not serviceable for this purpose, so other methods of gaining play facilities must be found.

The numerous vacant lots in many cities are temporarily turned into playgrounds by the boys of the neighborhood. In some cases the permission of the authorities is necessary before these places can be used for play purposes, but this is quite readily secured, and thus the playground room of a city can be enormously extended beyond the meager facilities directly under municipal and philanthropic control. Play under these conditions is not supervised and is conducted by the boys according to their own ideas, yet it relieves congestion and has done much good. Occasionally the city uses the lot directly and erects playground apparatus which remains during the summer months. Usually the equipment is intended for the small children, the larger ones being expected to attend the regular playgrounds.

c. Public Recreation Centers.

The major portion of a municipality's playground space consists of that secured exclusively for playground purposes and transformed into parks and formal playgrounds. Although the first playground space was furnished by the schools, the school authorities have not kept pace with the need of play space. They have not regarded recreation as a function of the school except as it is necessary to rest pupils from the monotony of their study and to make them more alert for their class work; consequently the municipality has been forced to create separate playground areas. Unlike the use of streets and lots, the establishment of playgrounds involves the expenditure of considerable sums of money, and the needed recreation centers, if established at all, must be created in the localities where children can use them. In the crowded quarters of the city the cost of real estate is high, and very little vacant space can be found. How to secure ample funds

to establish a system of playgrounds is a problem for nearly every city. A single block in New York City cost $1,811,127.

4. Types of Recreation Centers.

There are various types of playgrounds, and some of them are intended for children of almost every age. The type of playground and the method of its control vary with the age group which is to be accommodated.

The park for small children as found in many cities is a distinct type. Some parks are divided into two parts; one for boys and the other for girls; often an entire playground is limited to the use of one sex. Special provision is sometimes made for the little children, who are given a small enclosed space into which the others may not come. Usually these playgrounds contain sand gardens, swings, teeterboards, and some additional apparatus, besides space for games of various kinds. In the middle of the sand garden is a covered enclosure containing the sand. The level of the sand pile is about two feet above that of the adjacent ground, and the sand is accessible from all sides. Here small children are allowed to dig and are carefully watched by an attendant so that no accidents may occur and that trouble among the children may be avoided. Some opportunity is also given for digging in the garden around the enclosed sand pile, and here the older children may enjoy themselves. The swings and teeterboards may be out in the open air or under a protecting roof, and some of the parks are provided with equipment of both kinds. In certain parts of the park seats are provided for the child's mother, who may rest there with her young charges. These parks usually open at nine o'clock in the morning and close about sunset, and are in use through the warmer months of the year only. Formerly many of them were mere vacation schools operating for ten or twelve weeks during the summer, but now a general extension of the time has been granted.

A second type of playground accommodates children of all ages, and therefore contains a greater measure of provision for the older boy, who does not dig in the sand nor play

baby games. In addition to provision for the small child, opportunities for physical exercise are given to both boys and girls, and appropriate machinery for this purpose is furnished. The grounds contain poles, ladders, horizontal and parallel bars, play-horses, small merry-go-rounds, and other apparatus. However, the boys are usually better provided with the means of enjoyment than are the girls. This type of playground is not usually enclosed, and may be used whenever the condition of the weather allows. Accordingly on a bright winter day and frequently in the early spring these grounds may be seen covered with boys eager to use such apparatus as may be allowed to remain all winter, and in the summer months they are covered far into the night with enthusiastic children, especially if interesting facilities for play have been provided.

The most notable variety of recreation center in the United States is the so-called civic center, which usually comprises a small park containing a finely equipped field house. The idea took form in Chicago in 1903, when the South Park Commission decided to establish a number of such centers on the south side of that city, and within four years ten such centers were created. A typical center was established at a cost of about $220,000, and the yearly cost of maintenance amounted to approximately $30,000. The centers comprise an area in some cases of ten acres each, being much larger than the ordinary playground. Furthermore, they do not confine their activities to the needs of children, and many adults participate in the advantages. They are located in regions badly in need of play facilities, and are therefore usually found in the poorer and more disagreeable parts of the city.

In Chicago the grounds were secured by direct purchase of the land; buildings were removed and the parks and centers created. The grounds are enclosed, and contain various buildings and an exceedingly good equipment. A typical field house consists of a large assembly hall, where entertainments of various kinds are continually held, and where dancing parties frequently convene; a boys' gymnasium equipped for games,

especially for basketball and for physical exercises; and a girls' gymnasium in another part of the building, where the equipment is equally adequate. The building shelters one of the branches of the public library, and contains many club-rooms used by adults as well as by boys and girls. An indoor swimming pool is one of the valuable features of the equipment and a large outdoor pool is provided for summer use. This is used by males five days of the week, while on two days its use is limited to females. Ample shower baths are also provided.

During the winter months there are facilities for indoor play, but when good weather approaches the outdoor equipment is more generally utilized. This includes provision for the little children, for a boys' ground, and for a girls' field. The portion allotted to the small child contains a wading pool absolutely safe, swings, teeterboards, and similar apparatus, as well as sand bins, and only children under ten years of age are allowed to use these grounds. Provision is also made for the caretakers, who are supplied with ample shade while they watch the little ones. Mothers may come with their children and remain to see them play. The boys' field is the largest area of the three divisions, but the patronage is also the largest; the field contains tennis grounds, a baseball diamond, an outdoor hand-ball court, outdoor gymnasium facilities, and apparatus adapted to the larger boy. A running track is usually included, and contests are a part of the regular program. In a few instances small ball grounds have been set apart for the little boys, but the general rule is to admit all classes to the larger field.

The girls' field has the usual outdoor equipment, with opportunity for play and exercise. Even athletic contests for the girls and women have been inaugurated, and among the events are the running jump, traveling rings, fifty yard dash, etc. Girls also organize into league teams, and compete in many games, such as baseball, quoits, field hockey, relay races, and others. Hundreds of girls participate in these games,—a

fact which attests their popularity. When false modesty has subsided, their utility will also be generally recognized, and the girls will gain in strength and physique.

A portion of the grounds is used in common, or for certain definite purposes. In winter a part of the field is flooded and converted into a skating pond; and a little dressing room is provided in a corner of the park. A number of tennis courts are located on this common field where the sexes may mingle in their play. A variety of sports are allowed, baseball being the most popular. The outdoor fields are open from May to November, but the indoor gymnasia are open throughout the year.

The ordinary city park is of limited service to the children of the poor, since they can draw little comfort from a park several miles away. For example, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, with its 3000 acres of land, is hardly used by the poor child. It is so far away that only the well-to-do can afford the necessary carfares. The thousands of little children seen there are not the children of the poorer sections of the city; hence the park has a limited usefulness only. Even Central Park, on the narrow island of Manhattan, is but meager relief to the child of the East Side, and it can attract no children at all from the more distant slum sections. The larger and better equipped park is seldom visited by the poor except on those rare occasions which form distinct events in their lives. Playgrounds and parks for small children must be located within one-fourth mile, and for large children within one-half mile, of the children's homes. In spite of their many prohibitions, parks offer a large opportunity for play and sport. Games of many kinds can be played, but the chief advantage is for the larger boy and girl rather than for the small child.

In New York and in a few additional cities recreation piers have been established, but these again cater to the older children and are not serviceable for the smaller ones. The chief source of enjoyment here consists of music, which is furnished

free of charge by the cities, as is often done during the summer months in many of the parks. The evening recreation centers and the evening roof playgrounds of New York City are additional methods of providing recreation for children.

5. Progress of the Playground Movement.

The playground movement in the United States is a recent development. The idea seems to have been borrowed from the city of Berlin, where small sand piles had been scattered throughout the public parks for the purpose of giving the children an opportunity to play. Some citizens of Boston heard about this innovation, and in 1886 two religious societies of that city followed the Berlin plan. Various charitable and philanthropic societies, especially social settlements, then became interested in the idea and many playgrounds, established and conducted by private organizations, arose. The earlier playgrounds were mostly under private auspices, but the initiative of private enterprise soon awakened the cities to their need, and public playgrounds were established, but comparatively little was accomplished before 1900. Probably the greatest single impetus given to the movement was the convention of the National Playground Association in the summer of 1907. At a second convention the following year, twenty-nine states were represented, and the playground movement spread everywhere. To-day a nation-wide work of educational propaganda is carried on, and a magazine devoted to the cause is being published. Also pamphlet literature is widely disseminated. The small cities are being aroused to action by the systematic work of the playground leaders and general plans for recreational activities are being presented.

In a few years a tremendous amount of work has been accomplished. In 1907 only 66 cities had joined the playground movement; in 1909 the number had increased to 339 and in 1913 to 642. Of this number 342 cities regularly supervised their recreation centers. In 1921, 502 cities reported work under paid leadership. The number of cities actually carrying on supervised work was no doubt considerably larger.

Besides these, 59 cities operated unsupervised centers and more than one hundred utilized school playgrounds. In a year more than five million dollars was voted in bonds for recreational facilities, while the cost of maintaining playgrounds and recreation centers amounts to more than twice this sum.

Among the large cities Chicago leads in provision for recreational facilities. Its fine system of field houses and civic centers attracts an enormous attendance. Los Angeles, Rochester, Minneapolis and Seattle are among the other cities that have established civic centers with excellent results; and in Oakland a plan of administration has been attempted which makes this city one of the pioneers in the task of solving the public recreation problem.

In addition to the work of its board of education, New York City has established many small playgrounds through its park department, and it has furnished music at its recreation piers and developed evening entertainments. Many of the cities are contemplating elaborate plans of work and have purchased considerable ground for the establishment of a system of playgrounds.

State governments are being interested in the playground movement. New Jersey, for example, has authorized a playground commission for each one of its larger cities, which selects sites, purchases land, and organizes the work. Some states have authorized park boards and commissions not amenable to municipal control to facilitate the establishment of playgrounds, and the wider use of school property for recreational purposes likewise increases the facilities for play. Measured by the standard requirements of play space per child, the playground movement, however, has only fairly begun, and in no city have adequate facilities been provided. The least advance has occurred in the country districts, although here certain forms of recreation are quite as necessary as in the cities, and their social values are of special importance.

6. Supervision.

The importance of play, not as mere recreation, but as a vigorous formative influence on character and ideals, has been recognized, and so the question, how shall this influence be made most effective, naturally arises. Shall play be supervised or not? Wherever the park ideal of playground prevails very little supervision is possible. In the large park there is none, but in the small parks a system of limited supervision may exist. The results of the operation of the unsupervised playground have not been sufficiently encouraging to gain much support for this method. In fact, the experience of the school playground contains a note of warning against this system; consequently the recent tendency has been toward the supervised playground. In the latter the bully and the gang cannot rule and destroy the ethical values of play, nor can the larger boys monopolize opportunity to the detriment of the smaller child. Unquestionably the supervised playground is superior in its capacity to develop the character and the social ideals of the child. The quality of the supervision is likewise a matter of utmost importance, especially to the boys. Children under 10 should have women instructors, but boys over 10 should be in charge of men.

The success of supervision depends upon the tact and general efficiency of the play leaders, therefore the need of professional playground workers is being rapidly recognized. The 502 cities with supervised playground in 1921 reported over 11,000 workers—nearly 20 per city, and 191 employed an average of 12 each throughout the year. In 94 cities classes for the training and instruction of the play leaders have been organized, as training is the chief essential to success. This can be given in the physical education departments of normal schools, in the various schools of social work, or in classes organized especially for instruction in the subject. Leaders should understand the meaning of the playground movement in its larger and theoretical aspects, and in its relation to commercial recreation. They should be especially conversant with

the practical phases of the problem; be thoroughly acquainted with playground and recreation equipment; have a large repertoire of appropriate games; understand such special activities as those of the boy scout or camp fire girl; and have some capacity for story-telling, for the manual arts, for athletics, and for similar accomplishments. They should be imbued with the spirit of community service and should endeavor to make their work count as genuine social service.

The public school teacher who presides on the playground is in special need of training in the social aspects of play and recreation. Too often she approaches the task from the standpoint of the pedagogue instead of that of the social worker. She thinks of order and discipline rather than of constructive character building.

Play facilities should be accessible throughout the year. The rigor of northern climates, however, makes the use of outdoor playgrounds impossible during the harsh winter months, unless it be for skating. Nevertheless, playgrounds should be open as long as weather conditions allow, and provision for adaptation to winter sports should be made. Instead of a season of about seven months, as in many American cities, playgrounds can be put to better service. During the summer they should be open all day; and, after school has begun, they should be accessible before and after school hours. Field houses, such as those in Chicago, with their magnificent indoor equipment, make ample provision for all classes during the winter months with the exception of the small children. We have not fully recognized as yet the need of outdoor exercise in the brisk winter days, but this is especially important for the children of the slums, confined to small, stuffy, and unsanitary rooms. In 1921 more than half of the recreation centers were open during July and August only. In a few cities a season of nine or ten months prevailed, while there is a tendency in favor of longer seasons and of the all-year playground where that is climatically possible. In 144 cities 805 centers were open throughout the year.

7. Administration.

The control of public recreation is a matter of great importance. The public acts through the school authorities and the park and recreation departments of cities, or boards established by the states. The control of these activities must gradually be centralized, and with the increasing magnitude of the problem, the task will become more serious. Opinion seems to be crystallizing in favor of placing the various recreation centers, swimming pools, public baths, municipal dance halls, and the recreational activities carried on in parks, in the hands of some special bureau or department of the municipality. It is impossible to separate the work for children from that for adults, therefore objection is made to placing the supervision of all recreational agencies in the hands of the school authorities. The functions of recreation centers are so varied that it is uncertain how far they fall within the scope of the work of a board of education. Some separate municipal department would be free to carry on every enterprise according to social needs and requirements, and would not be handicapped by educational straitjackets.

On the other hand, the argument made for the educational authorities cannot easily be brushed aside, since it is conceded that play is essentially educational in character. Schools are deferring to individuals of every age who want training and education, and recreation is extended to many not enrolled in regular classes. There is an identity of interest between education and recreation which should be safeguarded, and this can best be done by the extension of the administrative functions of the school board to cover recreational facilities. At all events, the educational authorities will retain control of the school playgrounds, but if they are limited to this a complete system of centralization is not possible. By an extension of authority, the recreational activities can be correlated and made effective. Furthermore, a propaganda supported and pushed by the department of education carries more weight and is more likely to succeed than if advanced by the

branches of the municipal government. The confidence of the people in their educational system is largely responsible for this. As the appreciation of the social aspects of education increases, the functions of the board of education must materially expand.

In actual practice, the various cities differ widely as to the method of work. The splendid recreation centers of Chicago are supervised by a park commission, but in Gary, Indiana, the schoolhouses are the social centers. In Boston the school board has charge of the playgrounds both in the parks and in the school yards, and in New York City the school board has greatly enlarged its functions, but the principal recreation centers are controlled by another municipal department. In St. Louis recreation centers are controlled by a bureau of the park department, while in Kansas City part of the control lies with the board of public welfare. In many cities several bodies coöperate to manage the playgrounds. In smaller cities private playground associations are required to do much of the work, and here also the school boards frequently take charge of the playgrounds. In the large cities the park boards and recreation commissions are the principal controlling authorities. The school boards, however, retain control of the school playgrounds, often operating them during the summer months or arranging for their use under the immediate supervision of the department in charge of the recreation centers. It is not likely that the school boards will extend their operations to cover the entire field, but it is very probable that the work will be largely concentrated in some other municipal department. The future supervision of moving picture shows, dance halls, pool rooms, and other commercial amusements will make this development necessary. Educational authorities do not wish to be burdened with this task, but it will easily harmonize with the work of a recreation commission.

In a number of cities, of which however Oakland, California, is the best example, a definite plan of coöperation between the playground department and school authorities has been

effected. The superintendent of recreation is also director of physical education in the Oakland schools. The staff dealing with recreational, social center and physical education activities is paid for partly by one and partly by the other board. The aggregate cost of upkeep, supplies and salaries is almost equally divided between the two. This plan results in the maximum use of school playgrounds, the general elimination of duplicating playgrounds and in a unified city plan of recreational work. Municipal playgrounds are not established by the side of good-sized school playgrounds, but seek the neglected spots of the city. In fact the two departments neither overlap in function nor overlook a need.

8. Standards for Play.

Among the numerous standards for the recreational activities and facilities of children are the following: [1]

(1) Playgrounds should be located within a radius of one-fourth mile for children under six, one-half mile for children over six and baseball fields should be located within a radius of one mile.

(2) There should be at least one acre of playground space for every 500 children.

(3) There should be provision for an athletic field of six acres or more.

(4) Every child should have two hours of organized play outside of school hours every day and 30 minutes for play and physical education per day in the schools.

(5) Every playground should have a director and no play leader should have more than 75 children under supervision at one time.

(6) Adequate leadership is more important than a large equipment.

(7) Minimum equipment should include swings, sandbox, slides, giant stride, possibly teeters and outdoor gymnasium equipment.

(8) Quiet and vigorous games should alternate.

[1] U. S. Children's Bureau, *Standards of Child Welfare*, pp. 61-62.

(9) A definite governing body must have general charge of the recreational work.

In addition to these standards it is very important to emphasize the democratic possibilities of organized play as well as its general social significance.

9. Special Outdoor Activities.

A number of specialized forms of outdoor recreation have gradually developed. Among these are the summer camps and excursions of boys and girls under the direction of our Young Men's and Young Women's Associations. The Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls represent a recent development of allied activities.

The Boy Scout movement is of English origin, and at first exhibited many military aspects, but after its importation to the United States it was largely modified and lost its former tendency to stimulate a desire for war. The boys are still organized in troops, wear uniforms, and receive a certain amount of military drill, but emphasis is placed on their aims and duties. Their chief tasks and pleasures are summed up in the term "Scoutcraft." This includes "instruction in first-aid, life saving, tracking, signaling, cycling, nature study, seamanship, campcraft, woodcraft, chivalry, patriotism, and other subjects." [1]

Boy scouts may be in one of three classes, and each boy must pass certain tests before he can be promoted to the next higher class. The scout law is a set of principles which should regulate the conduct of the boys. It consists of 12 resolutions, each of which represents some important virtue. Merit badges are given to "first class" scouts who pass certain tests in such subjects as athletics, bee farming, camping, firemanship, handcraft, pioneering, signaling, path finding, marksmanship, and others.

The boy scout is benefited in several ways: usually his pleasures take him into the country where the air is fresh and wholesome. He is physically improved by these excur-

[1] *Boy Scouts of America*, The Official Handbook for Boys, p. 8.

sions and becomes more capable of withstanding the bad effects of city life. Contact with nature, with flowers, trees, birds, and animals, profoundly affects his character, and also has great educational value. Again organization and discipline, in addition to the observance of scout law, develop important mental and moral characteristics. Boys become more active and alert; they gain self-control; they become more mannerly and chivalrous; they acquire much practical knowledge, such as the art of swimming, life-saving, etc.; and they are stimulated to the task of self-improvement.

The Young Men's Christian Associations were formerly the chief agents of the boy scout movement, but other agencies have interested themselves, and at present patrols and troops are formed in connection with the associations of the different religious denominations, the Sunday Schools, settlements, and other organizations. In many cities the boy scouts make use of the recreation centers for their work. The total number of boys enrolled in the organization in 1921 was estimated at 529,000.

The Camp Fire Girls are organized according to plans similar to those governing the Boy Scouts. They also aim to accomplish similar results, but have adapted their program sufficiently to include the acquisition of much needed knowledge relating to affairs of house and home. The recreational activities are prominent features, and outdoor life is exalted. The physical and moral effects derived from the movement should be very similar to the gains achieved by the Boy Scout movement. Comparatively few girls have as yet been organized into camps, the total enrollment in the United States in 1921 probably not exceeding 90,000.

The summer camp is accessible to a rather small proportion of the children in need of outings, but fresh air camps often specialize on weak and sickly children, giving them an outing lasting from one to four weeks. Remarkable results have been obtained, and frequently tubercular children have regained entirely their former strength and energy. The class of chil-

dren which is forced back into unsanitary parts of the city make little permanent gain, however, and they must have regular access to healthful playgrounds in order to conserve their health. The effect on the mind of a short summer outing is being forcibly demonstrated by the short vacation schools, conducted in the summer camps by the Young Men's Christion Associations. The boys often gain from three to six months' work in regular schools because of the stimulus received in these camps.

10. Commercial Recreations.

A large proportion of recreational facilities are provided by commercial agencies, and many cheap modern amusements are being furnished. Naturally they draw a heavy patronage and are fraught with good or ill according to their character. Among these recreations are motion pictures, cheap theaters, dance halls, pool rooms, skating rinks, and penny arcades.

The motion picture has for the first time brought a valuable recreation and amusement within the reach of the masses of the people. Although the great majority of the patrons are adults, it has been estimated that 400,000 children in the United States visit the picture shows and cheap theaters daily. From one-fifth to one-fourth of the average audience is composed of children. Few children in any city are not within reach of some picture show, but on account of the uncertain nature of the business, in some cities the number of establishments fluctuates greatly from time to time. Charges since the war have risen considerably and the admission price now ranges from ten to about fifty cents a performance. Picture films now embrace nearly every variety of subject,—historical, geographical, industrial, scientific, sociological, fanciful, and mythical, and afford not only entertainment but instruction as well. It is therefore very important that the character of the films shall have an uplifting effect on the spectators.

The National Board of Review organized in 1909 in New York City for the purpose of censoring films passes on the great majority of the film subjects used in the U. S. However,

it is a private informal body and has no power to prevent undesirable matter from being shown. It has no doubt accomplished some good, but often the excised portions of a film are again introduced in a distant part of the country. It has no power to prevent such occurrences; furthermore the uncensored films are often widely exploited with most unhappy results. Usually the demoralizing film is the only one of its kind in a single exhibition, the remainder being entirely innocent, but this one destroys the social value of the performance. Other films of doubtful quality are frequently produced, and many of the scenes, especially the more dramatic exhibitions, such as robberies, burglaries, and thrilling episodes, although they do not directly teach vice and crime, inflame the imagination of the child, cause him to reënact the story or tragedy, and often lead to the direct commission of crime.

The great majority of juvenile delinquents frequent the picture show and the cheap theater. Although causal connections can be established only in a limited number of cases, there can be no doubt that many children are demoralized in this way. Standards should be raised, and all vicious subjects be forced out, either through public opinion or a higher grade of film censorship. Among the particularly objectionable features of many motion picture shows are the cheap and disgusting vaudeville presentations.

The moving picture show can be made a wholesome amusement for children. Philanthropic and municipal activity should provide high class amusements consisting of moving pictures and lantern slide exhibitions, which can be given in the school-houses, churches, and other public buildings. The recreational need of the child can thus be partially met and elevating forces be granted an opportunity to exert an unconscious influence over the boy and girl. The increased use by our public schools of appropriate pictures and scenes in the study of history, geography, literature, and other subjects will also serve as a wholesome substitute for inferior commercial recreations.

In recent years a strong movement in favor of film censorship has developed. The first official censorship was attempted by Chicago in 1909. Since then many cities and a number of states have adopted some plan of control. The most effective and probably the most drastic censorship so far attempted is that carried out by the state of Pennsylvania. To have value censorship must precede the public exhibition of the pictures. Such a plan is possible under a state system, but is difficult to make effective when each city is an independent censor. For the small towns the method is certainly impossible. As a consequence a system of public censorship should be organized either on a state or national basis. In the long run no doubt a national board of censorship would constitute the preferable plan.

Official censorship is vigorously opposed by the film manufacturers and by informal boards of censorship. The stock arguments in opposition are: no small board can censor impartially and fairly; the people are the best censors and should have what they want; censorship will drift into politics; it is expensive; it is an arbitrary interference with legitimate business and it interferes with personal freedom.

The chief arguments for censorship are: unorganized public opinion cannot make itself felt. An official body must be created; this board can protect the public and particularly children from indecencies: unofficial censorship has not been successful; film-makers often force upon the people pictures that are both unwanted and undesirable; the promotion of the public good is a more fundamental principle than the maintenance of so-called personal freedom; if industry is demoralizing then industry must be regulated or controlled; a system of censorship can be made self-supporting.

The movement has alarmed manufacturers and an attempt has been made by them to allay public opinion through an independent plan of self-improvement. Some gains have been made but hope from this source seems rather elusive. Better film bureaus may interest some people in certain types of

pictures but the resolute elimination of the mischievous pictures now so common can alone forestall official censorship. Such high-mindedness on the part of commercial concerns is not anticipated by practical men and women interested in public morals.

The cheap theaters add the vaudeville and the burlesque to the motion pictures, and are therefore most objectionable. The cost of admission being higher, the proportion of children attending is much smaller. Every large city, and many smaller ones, have a number of cheap theaters where melodrama flourishes, demoralizing shows are presented, suggestive dances are given, and vulgar vaudeville features are common. From the moral standpoint these shows are in special need of censorship, but the difficulty of eliminating everything objectionable is so great that every means should be encouraged to substitute a higher grade of amusement in their place.

The dance hall offers a specially serious problem for the young girl. Few boys under sixteen attend the public dance hall, but many girls but slightly above the age of fourteen may be found there, and a large proportion of both boys and girls learn to dance at the public dancing academy. A study of a limited number of children in New York City disclosed the fact that 56 per cent of the boys and 31 per cent of the girls acquired the art at these institutions, and nearly three-fourths of the boys and one-half of the girls frequented them.[1] The parents of these children were largely people belonging to the laboring and clerical sections of the community.

Dance halls are numerous in the cities. Chicago has about 445, St. Louis approximately 150, and Cleveland about 100. Many of the halls seek the patronage of the poorer elements; some become a recruiting ground for the white slaver, and many are regularly visited by prostitutes. Much vile and degrading language is common, and frequently suggestive and indecent dances are allowed. Strangers often dance with each other either without introduction or after having met through

[1] Davis, M. M., *The Exploitation of Pleasure*, pp. 12 and 13.

the mediation of an official introducer, and dances frequently continue until the early morning hours.

The first step in providing proper dancing facilities for young people consists in the strict regulation and control of dance halls. All halls should be properly licensed, special permits should be obtained when particular groups conduct a dance, a suitable closing-hour should be provided, disorderly dances should be forbidden, and the police or inspectors authorized to stop such dances summarily.

No persons under 18 should be admitted, unless properly chaperoned by parent or guardian, adequate closet and cloak room facilities should be provided, and finally a well-qualified force of inspectors to supervise the dance halls should be established.

Well-meaning men have instituted model dance halls and have hoped to preserve so high a plane of conduct that all objectionable features would be eliminated. It is doubtful, however, whether the commercial dance hall, no matter how well managed or supervised, can afford entirely wholesome amusement and recreation for young people. Recreation is so vital that it must be socialized, as education has been. It cannot remain a commercialized activity; therefore our philanthropic and public agencies must provide the means. The schools should be opened as recreation centers where amusements of various kinds, including a limited amount of dancing, are provided, and if necessary additional facilities can be provided by the city, as in the case of the field houses of Chicago. Dances at such centers would in all cases be carefully supervised; there would be neighborhood activities; the demoralizing elements could be eliminated; and other forms of amusement could be introduced so as to vary the recreations afforded. An adequate program of socialized recreation will rob the commercial dance halls of the best of their patrons and will drive many such halls out of existence. Dancing cannot and should not be eliminated, but its evil results must be removed.

Pool rooms, skating rinks, and penny arcades are minor forms of amusement so far as children are concerned. Boys under certain ages should not be permitted in pool rooms because of the demoralizing elements encountered there. The skating rink often offers opportunities for leading girls astray, and needs public supervision to lessen the danger. The penny arcade is rapidly dying out. In spite of the fact that the subject titles are usually worse than the scenes presented—a scheme to attract the curious—the arcade is giving way to the motion picture show, so that the dangers involved are not so serious.

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CHAPTER XI

WIDER USES OF THE SCHOOLS

According to the old-fashioned notion school property was consecrated to use by children for what were called educational purposes. A school yard was a concession to youth, but an infraction of the principle. Debating societies and literary clubs were presumptuous in asking for shelter in schoolhouses, but often could not be refused. The growing recognition that schoolhouses are public property dedicated to public use for various purposes has resulted in the expanded use of the school. The term educational is likewise receiving a broader interpretation.

1. School Playgrounds.

An extension of the use of school property consists in the admission of children to the school playgrounds outside of school hours. New York City with its network of indoor and outdoor playgrounds, its roof playgrounds and kindergarten centers is an excellent example of the work that can be done.

In 1921 more than one hundred cities reported the use of the school playgrounds for play purposes outside of regular school hours.

In Boston the schools are granted the use of public playgrounds, and children are organized into class and school teams, and at the appropriate times of the year track events, baseball, football, hockey, etc., are enjoyed. A large corps of instructors is employed by the school board to supervise this athletic work. In Newark, New Jersey, the summer playgrounds have good apparatus for the boys, games for the enjoyment of all are carried on, folk dancing is taught, and handwork is provided.

The movement in favor of the wider use of the school playground is rapidly spreading, and the above illustrations merely indicate the type of work done. Playgrounds should be open before and after school hours, on Saturdays, and during the summer vacation months. Such a policy would add largely to the available playground space in every city, and if it could be relied on, the city would not establish playgrounds in the vicinity of schoolhouses. In too many cities we find the curious anomaly of a school yard and playground side by side, indicating that the agencies have not correlated their work in the slightest degree.

In many cities the playgrounds are managed by the school boards. This is frequently the condition in the smaller towns, where the school playgrounds are used for general purposes. Some apparatus is placed on the grounds, and the control and management of the activities naturally remain with the school authorities.

2. Evening Centers.

Many public school buildings are open in the evenings. The term "social center" is usually applied to such a school if the activities are varied and largely confined to adults, but if the activities are open especially to children, then the term "recreation center" is used. How far public school buildings should be used for other than educational purposes has been a mooted question, but the right to use the building is being rapidly conceded. There is no consensus of opinion, however, as to who shall bear the cost of operation. The Boston school committee, for example, holds that the buildings should be used, but claims that the cost should not be assessed against the school funds. On the other hand, New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles are examples of cities that are spending a great deal of money through their educational departments for evening center work.

Among the activities prevailing at evening recreation centers are the following: literary, debating, dramatic, athletic, choral, violin, and civic clubs; folk and social dancing, gymnastics,

games, baths, swimming, parents' associations, Boy Scouts, moving pictures, monologues, lectures, concerts, library facilities, formal study, and class work.

The evening recreation work of New York City is so well developed that the entire subject can best be illustrated by a short account of its principal features.

Schools are selected in promising sections of the city and a corps of perhaps six teachers assigned to a center. The schools are open from two to six nights per week, most of them, however, every week-day evening. They operate about eight months per year. Clubs and classes are formed for two groups —the older persons and the juniors, the latter consisting of persons under 16 years of age. Thousands attend every night. Many interesting forms of work are carried on; for example, study rooms are set aside for the children who do not have good facilities at home for the preparation of their lessons. These rooms are nearly always filled, and the children in attendance profit greatly because of these opportunities. Although children of this class do not represent the highest type of mentality, only a small per cent of those attending fail of promotion. Baths are operated in many recreation centers, and swimming classes are also conducted. The game rooms are usually very popular, and here chess, checkers, parchesi, authors, and similar games are allowed and enjoyed. Classes in gymnastics and athletic drills form a feature of the work, and considerable ability is being developed among many of the class members.

Folk dancing is a common form of recreation as well as a beautiful diversion. Mixed or social dancing has also been introduced, although many consider this objectionable. One evening a week is allowed for such dancing in some of the recreation centers conducted for the girls and women, and the young men who attend are carefully selected, being usually members of clubs in neighboring centers. The teachers insist on repressing the degrading features of certain dances, and in this way have developed better manners and more self-

respect among the boys and young men. Insistence on order and decorum results in better behavior.

The work in dramatics has aroused a large amount of interest, and the classes in singing have enjoyed much popularity, especially the classes for girls. Beginnings have been made in instrumental music, a number of bands and orchestras having been organized. In some centers moving pictures are attempted, and have proved very successful. The subjects presented are historical, literary, dramatic, and geographical, and lack the sensational features so common in the commercial moving pictures. Among other groups are the Boy Scouts, and social and civic clubs.

Chicago and Cincinnati follow New York in the number of schools used as evening recreation centers, but in no city are many of the schools used for such purposes. In 1921, 137 cities had taken steps in this direction and were using 1,274 houses in this way—an average of only nine schoolhouses per city. The amount of money expended is still comparatively small, and in many of these cities private philanthropies of various kinds have borne the cost of heat, light, and janitor service, but in about 70 per cent of the cities this cost is now paid by the school board. The number of workers is usually too small, the majority of them are volunteers and lack training for systematic service. In some cases the paid workers are detailed from the park or playground department, but in a number of cities the cost is borne by the boards of education.

Evening recreation centers must become a permanent feature of our social activities; the cost must eventually be borne by the school board and the work be carried on by paid officials selected because of their capacity to do the work. Such workers must be trained social workers if the highest degree of efficiency is to be attained.

3. Social Centers.

Allied to the evening recreation center is the so-called social center, which performs the functions of a recreation center, but

in addition ministers to the various needs of a neighborhood. It includes both children and adults, and operates outside of school hours during the day and at night.

The social center movement received its first impetus from the publicity which it gained through the origin and development of the social centers in Rochester, New York, where it began in 1907. In that year one school was specially equipped for the various activities of the social center and the work enjoyed a distinct success. Provisions were made for gymnasium facilities and baths, also for various innocent table games; library and reading room privileges were provided, and arrangements were made for lectures and entertainments. The building was also thrown open for the discussion of public questions.

The activities were carried on largely through the various clubs that were organized. Boys' and girls' clubs were formed for debating, exercises, and entertainment, and one men's and two women's clubs were formed the first year. These devoted their time largely to the discussion of political questions, with occasional social evenings, but the gymnastic work for men and boys excited the greatest interest. Three evenings each week the gymnasium was open to them; two evenings it was used by the girls and women. It was interesting to note that many elderly women participated in the exercise. The traveling library located at the building was used to great advantage, and the weekly entertainment was patronized by a large number of people. Occasional dances and dinners were also provided.

The initial success of the Rochester experiment resulted in a rapid expansion of the work, and many cities began to imitate and develop similar activities. Political and other difficulties, however, have beset the movement in Rochester, and progress in the work there has been greatly impeded. On the other hand, the impetus which this city gave to the movement has continued, so that a large number of cities using the schools as recreation centers are also carrying on the wider

community or social center work. In many of these cities paid workers have charge of the activities—a fact which indicates the reasonable permanency of the work.

Among the cities in which the schools are used for general purposes is Gary, Indiana. In the following table the work of a school in Gary is contrasted with that of 11 small parks in Chicago.[1]

	CHICAGO PARKS	GARY SCHOOL
Population served	800,000	20,000
Maintenance (annual)	$440,000	$100,000
Annual attendance		
Indoor gymnasium	310,000	1,000,000
Shower bath	1,325,000	500,000
Outdoor gymnasium	2,000,000	2,000,000
Swimming pool	725,000	300,000
Assembly hall	270,000	1,000,000
Club rooms	70,000	50,000
Reading rooms	600,000	1,000,000
Lunch rooms	520,000	20,000

This table indicates that the Gary school is used almost continuously. Facilities of many kinds are provided, and the children are taught to use them without hesitation or distrust. The plan is to utilize the entire building all of the time, and the result is not only more recreation but also more manual and industrial training. Furthermore, the school becomes a neighborhood center.

The most rapid development of social center work is taking place in Wisconsin. Here the state university has undertaken to stimulate interest in the wider use of school buildings as well as to organize the work directly. Allied to this work is the plan of conducting lyceum courses in the small towns and cities. As a result, many cities have begun the use of the public school as a social center, and a very large number of towns have accepted the lyceum courses planned by the university. The inevitable consequence will be the opening of schools in these cities for community purposes.

[1] Wirt, William, *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1912, p. 61. Figures given in round numbers but approximately accurate.

In social centers the gymnasium becomes the most attractive feature. Boys, girls, men, and women—all take advantage of the opportunities which it affords; therefore gymnasium facilities must receive special attention. Many schools are now being provided with them for the training of the school children. These schools if conveniently located are accordingly best adapted for neighborhood uses.

An important development is the school bath. Shower baths are being introduced in many cities in the schools used especially for recreation centers, although other schools are also favored. In the congested sections every school should be equipped with bathing facilities. While the use of a bathing equipment cannot be made compulsory, it can be so encouraged by teachers that its use will become practically universal. The cleanliness of children will be greatly promoted thereby. During the summer months the school baths should be open to the public, in order to supplement the municipal baths which are usually unable to meet the demands. The public school swimming pool, formerly limited almost exclusively to the high school, is gradually being added to the equipment of the elementary school building. It will increase the popularity of bathing and make measures of compulsion less necessary. The social consequences will be quite worth while.

The school serves admirably as a deposit station for books circulating from the public library. Many books should be sent to the schools for reference use, so the children may then read the books either in school or at home. Usually these class room libraries are small, consisting of not more than 50 or 75 books each, but these are repeatedly changed so as to make the outside work correspond with the class work. Schools used as deposit stations receive a larger collection of books. For these a library attendant may be furnished to take charge of the work, but the school must provide the housing accommodations. In this way library facilities can be extended to remote parts of the city with little additional cost. In a number of cities, especially New York, St. Louis, and Cleveland,

good beginnings have been made in using the schools to promote the circulation of good books.

In some cities and states the laws practically forbid the use of school buildings and school funds for other than purely educational purposes. It therefore requires an elastic interpretation of the laws or new legislation to make our extensive public school equipment available for the education, uplift-ment, and general social betterment of the entire community. In some cases the proportion of the taxes devoted to the school fund is definitely limited, and expenditures other than those now authorized involve hardships and retard the progress of work already carried on. These difficulties are being met in two ways: first, by laws empowering the proper authorities to establish social centers; second, by the appropriation of money for social center work.

Under the stimulus of the workers in Wisconsin, that state in 1911 enacted a law which granted comprehensive powers to the school authorities in cities of the first, second, and third classes. The school directors are authorized to establish evening schools, vacation schools, reading rooms, library stations, debating clubs, gymnasiums, public playgrounds, and public baths. These facilities are to accommodate both children and adults, and are to be provided free of charge. With the cooperation of the boards managing other forms of public property, such as libraries, parks, etc., the school directors may provide the instruction and supervision necessary to carry on educational or recreational activities in such buildings or parks. If necessary, the initiative may be invoked by 10 per cent of the voters, and if the proposition carries, the school board must establish social centers as demanded by the people.[1]

A number of states have empowered their school boards to make a limited use of the school buildings for social center purposes. Massachusetts has appropriated money directly for use by the Boston schools for the development of evening

[1] Perry, Clarence A., *A Survey of School Social Centres*, p. 15.

recreation centers. In Indiana a recent state law authorizes small cities to construct and equip swimming pools, playgrounds, and social centers. In this way, either through the school boards or through the direct action of the city, the states are authorizing the establishment of social centers. In some states the removal of the age limits within which free education is allowed, will give additional impetus to the wider use of the schools.

4. Physical Training.

It is a comparatively new idea for the schools to give attention to physique. The physical training of children has been a function of private agencies, or the work has remained entirely undone. Physical training aims not only to remove defects, but to guard against them as well, and to develop general physique. Although it has been a prominent feature of the German school curriculum for many years, its use in the United States is still very limited.

The physical training afforded in the Francis W. Parker School of Chicago—a private school—is one of the most noteworthy examples of the nature of the work. At the beginning of the year each child is measured and thoroughly examined. If defects are discovered which demand special corrective exercises, the children affected take the exercises under the direction of an instructor. The children are examined again at the end of the year in order to learn of their physical development and their relation to the normal measurements of a child of the same age. Careful adjustments of chairs and desks are made as well as careful seating in regard to light and ventilation. Correct standing and sitting postures are required; and other standards are put in operation.

A complete course in physical training is given to the children. This course is graded so as to meet the requirements of each grade of children, anl from the fifth grade on, and in the high school grades, the work of the boys and girls is differentiated. Each sex has its own classes and is given appropriate work. The girls acquire strength, elasticity, poise,

and grace, while the boys develop strength, endurance, skill, and courage, and both are taught exercises that have hygienic value. The school has accomplished remarkable results with its boys and girls.

Recently some of the public school systems have introduced courses in physical training. In Boston in 1907 a department of school hygiene was formed to promote the physical development of the pupils. Courses were introduced which included games, plays, and folk dancing, and each grade was given lessons in healthful exercises. The kindergarten and first three grades were limited principally to games and plays, but in the higher grades formal gymnastics and organized graded exercises were given. In New York City a department of physical training was begun in 1903. At first the program of work was regarded as artificial, but its real importance has gradually been recognized by both teacher and pupils. One feature of the work consists of the organization of the recess periods for physical training, and tests such as the following are applied:

Do the children play more than half the time?

Are they happy?

Can the teacher secure prompt attention?

The plan followed in recess work depends upon the answers to these tests. Special attention is given to the problem of acquiring good posture, because of the frequency of spinal curvature and similar ailments which are frequently induced by the lax habits of children in the schoolroom. Two-minute exercises are required of all children three times a day, and gymnastic drills are made to include as many pupils as possible instead of drilling a few to perfection.

The use of apparatus has developed the need of a gymnasium in nearly every school building in our cities. This equipment is being added but slowly, although Chicago is progressing very rapidly along this line. The work of male instructors is largely limited to the supervision of the boys in the gymnasium, while the women conduct exercises for the girls. In

most cities there is a great dearth in the number of instructors and accordingly the maximum efficiency is not reached. In Chicago separate attention is given to training the crippled and the blind, but in no city has a complete system of physical training for all been adopted. Usually the work is limited to certain schools or to certain groups of children, since supervision is regularly inadequate, teachers are too few, and many of these are untrained.

In many cities the schools have introduced athletic sports, such as baseball, basket ball, soccer football, track and field work; while in the high schools football is also allowed. The movement is distinctly in the direction of extensive athletics as contrasted with intensive work, which benefits a few people only. Such exercises as jumping and running can be enjoyed by the great majority of boys. The individual school meets draw in a large proportion of the older boys, while the inter-school contests develop intensive training. In some schools all boys physically capable of doing so engage in athletic training, and instead of allowing them to specialize on one form of exercise, the instructors require the boys to compete in a variety of exercises so as to enable them to develop different groups of muscles. The establishment of minimum and maximum standards prevents both indifference and over-exercise. The participation of boys in athletics according to such rules tends to produce a symmetrical muscular development; and it is this which athletic exercises should encourage. Organized efforts to give athletics a definite place in public school life have resulted in the establishment of public school athletic leagues in more than a hundred cities in the United States. Such efforts tend to promote an ideal of physical training and education.

In a search for suitable exercises for girls the New York City schools selected folk dancing, but added a number of games and exercises that permitted a more vigorous use of the body. The teachers have been trained in special classes to enable them to organize the girls in the schools and to conduct the

exercises. In view of the general failure to develop the physique of girls, and of the former tendency of civilization to encourage delicateness and physical incapability, the movement in favor of the proper athletic training of girls needs special encouragement. If the schools succeed in a rational program of physical development for girls, then their efforts to promote physical education will obtain ample justification. However, much remains to be done.

In recognition of the demands that will inevitably be made on our public school buildings, it will be necessary to recognize the need of a new type of building—one equipped to serve as a recreation center. It must have a complete gymnasium, with facilities for bathing, so that every variety of athletic exercise can be carried on. It must be provided with kitchen and cooking utensils, with suitable assembly rooms, and moving picture apparatus; certain rooms must be adapted for club purposes, mothers' meetings, and similar gatherings; the outdoor equipment must be equally complete and include the necessary gymnastic apparatus, while playground space must be ample and the grounds be made suitable for play purposes. In addition school buildings must have cold air rooms, and be so constructed as to make atmospheric conditions within their walls as nearly like the wholesome out-of-doors as possible.

5. Vacation Schools.

During the summer months many school buildings can be used for the work of the vacation schools. The schools are established to keep children out of mischief, to give retarded children an opportunity to study, to develop manual skill, and to carry on continuation work. New York City leads in this work but cities all over the country are now following the plan. Usually the term consists of six weeks and the work is limited to forenoon hours. Among the groups of children enrolling are pupils who have not been promoted, pupils who expect to skip a grade, children who hope to make their promotion the following year a certainty, and children compelled to attend school because they cannot otherwise secure working

certificates. Usually class work consists almost exclusively of various forms of handicraft. Basketry is the most popular subject, but chair-caning is also an important branch. The industrial work for boys includes elementary and advanced bench-work and venetian iron work, forms of training that appeal especially to the boys of the lower grades. The girls receive lessons in cooking and housekeeping, also in such domestic arts as sewing, dressmaking, millinery, embroidery, knitting, and crocheting. Most girls make a number of useful articles for personal use and thereby gain the incentive to perform a creditable piece of work. Lessons in nursing adapted to both boys and girls are given, personal cleanliness being especially emphasized. Kindergarten classes are maintained for the little children.

Attendance at vacation schools is not usually compulsory, but a very high percentage of attendance is obtained due largely to the fact that the vacation pupils have a definite object in view and unless they continue to attend will fail of their purpose.

The work in the vacation schools of New York City is typical of these schools in other cities, although many minor deviations occur elsewhere. In Chicago special vacation classes have been provided for crippled children, the deaf, and the tubercular. Here also considerable time is spent in nature study, and the parks are used for outdoor work. Since 1911 an opportunity has been given to pupils who failed of promotion to review the studies in which they failed. On the whole, the vacation school emphasizes the recreative features and limits itself to those forms of work that supply the play spirit with an opportunity to express itself. Many of its activities closely resemble those carried out on the playground, and to some extent it is substituted for additional playgrounds. It lacks several important characteristics of the playground, however, and is no real substitute. The vacation school has gained a wide foothold and is constantly receiving greater appreciation.

6. School Gardens.

In some cities experiments have been made in conducting school gardens. The typical plan of work is as follows: Each garden is divided into small individual plots or class plots; these plots are used for the growing of plants and vegetables, each child or class attending to its particular plot. A specified time is set aside for the children to cultivate and care for their little gardens, the work being under the guidance of a teacher who is advised by a gardener in respect to certain of the details. Neglectful children lose the right to their plot. The produce raised belongs to the children and may be used by them. They are required to be diligent in their work, keep their plots in good condition, and attend regularly to the instruction given them. The work begins in the spring months, lasts during the summer, and closes in the early fall.

The experience with school gardens has been varied, but under skillful guidance children become interested in nature, in plant life; they develop powers of observation, and capacity for sustained effort. On the other hand, if the children are not carefully controlled, the system degenerates into a wasteful expenditure of time. The Germans have been conspicuously successful in school gardening, but American cities have enjoyed a rather limited success. Further experimentation is, however, desirable. In the country districts and the small towns practical farming can be taught by the laboratory method and should become successful as soon as competent teachers can be secured. The experiment stations which have been established by many country schools are, however, something more than school gardens. There is no doubt about the advisability of extending and developing them.

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PART III

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER XII

THE MENTAL CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN

1. Mental Types.

The mental classification of children is becoming increasingly important from the educational and psychological point of view. The need of such classification has resulted in intensive studies of the mentality of various groups of children with very valuable results. In consequence we are revising estimates as to the number of feeble-minded and backward children in the United States.

The word "feeble-minded" is a generic term and is generally used to include those individuals who are too feeble mentally to be capable of self-support. A wide range of mental types is covered—from the high grade imbecile to the hopeless idiot. The following grades and classes are recognized by Dr. Barr: [1]

1. The imbecile trainable in three grades; low, middle, and high.

2. The moral imbecile found in all of these grades; trainable only under rigid custodial care.

3. The idio-imbecile; improvable as regards cleanly living, and trainable in a very limited degree.

4. The idiot; except in rare cases and by expensive methods, absolutely unimprovable.

The high grade imbecile in this classification is made practically synonymous with the term "backward children" as now defined. The moral imbecile is found principally among the higher types of the feeble-minded and is practically a born criminal, but the number in this group is comparatively small. The idiot often cannot stand or sit alone, usually he

[1] Barr, *Mental Defectives*, p. 90.

cannot speak, but merely mutters some inhuman and unintelligible sounds. A rough classification of the mentally feeble into idiots, imbeciles, morons, and backward children is ample for sociological purposes. At an important meeting of experts in the problem of feeble-mindedness these groups were graded in the following manner: the term "idiot" was made applicable to persons with a mind no more developed than that of a normal two-year-old child; the word "imbecile" was defined as a person with a mind resembling that of a normal child between two and seven years of age; the "moron" was made to include persons whose mentality was equal to that of children from seven to twelve years of age. The moron denotes the highest grade of feeble-mindedness—a type that under proper training can become self-supporting. Above this group is another, known as "atypical" or "backward" but which is not usually included under the term "feeble-minded." It includes all children who are four or more years below their normal grade in school but whose mental capacity is not limited to that of the moron. Some authorities set the limit at three or more years below normal grade. This lack of uniformity indicates the need for definite standardization.

A census of the feeble-minded is very desirable, as the present number in the United States is unknown. The enumeration of 1890 gave 95,000—undoubtedly considerably less than the actual number. In 1904 the Bureau of the Census estimated that there were 150,000 feeble-minded in the United States. The recent application of definite tests so as to make possible a more rigid classification of the various grades of mentality indicates a larger percentage of feeble-mindedness than was formerly conceded. It appears that the natural mentality of individuals is distributed according to an almost regular frequency curve, the great majority of individuals being concentrated at a point which, in virtue of this fact, is called normal. Some are above the normal, but very few are found at that point which marks the genius. Below the normal we find first a considerable number of retarded, then

the backward, finally the feeble-minded, the least numerous of which are the idiots. Since the causes of retardation and backwardness are more active than the causes of mental superiority, more persons are below than above the normal. Goddard estimated that about 3 per 1,000 of the population in the United States were feeble-minded. According to the recent United States army statistics 6.5 per 1,000 men examined were mental defectives.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene has studied school children in a number of states and cities, but with varying results. In Wisconsin seven per 1,000 were definitely classified as feeble-minded and the borderline cases numbered 11 per 1,000. In South Carolina 2.8 per cent of the white children examined were feeble-minded. A special committee studying the problem in New York estimates the number at one for every 300 persons. An investigation made in England discloses one feeble-minded person for every 217. The school and army statistics yield figures somewhat above the average for a community; nevertheless even the most optimistic estimate can hardly place the number of feeble-minded in the United States in 1922 at less than 400,000.

/Backward children form a very numerous group. /Some of the older studies of subnormal children yielded rather alarming figures. Professor Monroe of Stanford University gathered particulars of 10,000 school children in California and claims to have found about 3 per cent feeble-minded and 10 per cent dull or backward. Dr. Francis Warner, investigating for the English Government, concluded that 7 per cent of the 100,000 school children studied were dull, and that 1.6 per cent were feeble-minded. A test by Goddard of 1547 children in the first six grades of the public schools of a small city disclosed the fact that the mental advancement of the children was represented by a slightly asymmetrical curve; the shorter upper wing indicating exceptional types, and the somewhat larger lower wing, the backward and feeble-minded. The test showed that 15 per cent were from two to three years behind

grade and that 3.3 per cent were four or more years behind.[1] These results were secured by applying the Binet test and are more definite as well as more conservative than those of the two other investigators. Statistics collected in Cleveland indicated that 1.4 per cent of the public school children were retarded four years or more.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was also interested in the backward child and studied the problem wherever it investigated feeble-mindedness. According to its figures the proportion of subnormality in the South Carolina schools studied was 17.3 per cent. However, these percentages are based on the examination of a small number of white children, the total only slightly exceeding 3,000.

Proportions such as these emphasize the importance of the problem although it is difficult to make computations on the basis of the varying percentages revealed by these studies. It is clear that the backward are several times more numerous than the feeble-minded. Wallin has estimated the proportion as at least 5 to 1. Sociologically this fact implies that this large group should be given special instruction in separate classes—a task which the American people have only begun and about the magnitude of which they have little conception. Nor do they realize the cost that is involved.

A more numerous group than the backward children are the retarded. These, however, do not represent a mental type different from the so-called normal children. Their retardation is due largely to social causes. Together with the normal group they constitute the bulk of all children. They are not taught in special schools or in special classes, so the discussion of their problems will be reserved for a later chapter.

Another special group consists of the rapid progress type or the exceptionally gifted children. They have received less attention than the subnormal groups, so we have but little information in regard to their number. The tests by Goddard to which we have already referred showed that 4 per cent of

[1] Report of the National Education Association, 1911, p. 871.

the children were two or more years ahead of normal grade.[1] Figures by the United States Bureau of Education also show that in one-half of the cities studied, 4 per cent of the children were under age. Furthermore, our methods of education reduce the number of children who would otherwise make more than normal progress. In spite of this fact, however, we must expect to find a larger proportion of children below normal than above it. The underaged are not all exceptionally gifted, and the proportion who are distinctly defective is larger than the distinctly gifted class. But we do not know what percentage should be classed as exceptional. It must fall within the number who are above normal grade. Ward estimated the number of talented individuals in society as one out of 500, but believed that a proper system of education for women would increase the proportion to one out of every 300.[2] If opportunities are given to all, the number of gifted will apparently increase. Although some of the great leaders of the nation have been ordinary boys while in the public school, it stands to reason that the brightest children, if unhampered, should develop into the able men and women of the next generation. The duty of giving them a chance to do extra work is quite as important as that of favoring the subnormal. Probably it is far more important. More harm than good is accomplished by blasting the career of one genius and bringing five retarded children up to normal grade. The genius is worth many retarded children, but neither group need be sacrificed. We need a higher level of intellectual ability and must encourage the children of promise.

2. Causes of Mental Abnormality.

Additional study is necessary to determine the comparative importance of heredity and of environment as causes of mental subnormality. Roughly speaking, however, the relative influence of heredity and environment varies inversely as the child departs from the normal; for example, the boy one year behind

[1] United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1911, No. 5, p. 103.
[2] *Applied Sociology*, p. 232.

grade may be entirely the victim of environment, but the boy six years behind is kept back largely by hereditary defect. Consequently we may expect heredity to be a much more important cause of feeble-mindedness than of mere retardation.

a. Feeble-mindedness, How Caused.

The recent studies of the family histories of feeble-minded individuals have disclosed an amazing amount of abnormality in their families. In one city a family was found in which had appeared insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, alcoholism, criminality, and illegitimacy. No doubt but that heredity was a chief cause of these conditions. Older studies, such as that made of the Jukes, do not separate the environmental from the hereditary factors, and are no strong proof of the influence of heredity. The cumulative evidence, however, of a large number of cases of feeble-mindedness has great value as an indication of the causes. Dr. Barr has tabulated 4050 such cases, and finds the causes of their feeble-mindedness to be as follows, the figures being stated in percentages:

Causes acting before Birth	65.45
Family History of Idiocy and Imbecility	25.43
Family History of Phthisis	7.60
Family History of Insanity	6.91
Family History of Intemperance	5.75
Other Causes	19.76
Causes acting at Birth	4.59
Causes acting after Birth	29.96

With the exception of 8.89 per cent of the causes, which were classed as abnormal condition of mother during gestation, the causes acting before birth are hereditary influences. The influence of heredity is especially marked in the cases showing a family history of mental defect and abnormality. Undoubtedly the hereditary factor is also involved in a small proportion of the causes acting at birth and after birth. These statistics therefore indicate that from 60 to 65 per cent of feeble-mindedness is chargeable to hereditary weakness.

An investigation by the Indiana State Board of Charities of

3048 persons comprising 803 families in which feeble-mindedness occurred in one or more generations, corroborates this conclusion. Of the entire group 52.3 per cent were distinctly feeble-minded, and an additional 9.4 per cent were defective either mentally or physically. Only 38.3 per cent were normal. The hereditary tendencies are, however, more marked in the families in which feeble-mindedness has appeared in two or more generations. There were 312 such families in the group. Among them inherited defect was apparent in 61.2 per cent of the cases.[1]

Recent English figures indicate even larger proportions, about 70 per cent of feeble-mindedness being charged to hereditary causes. The study of the Kallikak family by Goddard furnishes remarkable evidence of a similar nature.

The causes acting at birth are of minor importance. Careless physicians, physiological maladjustments, and instrumental deliveries are partly to blame. Feeble-mindedness from these sources can be reduced.

The causes acting after birth such as malnutrition, accident and disease are responsible for about 30 per cent of the feeble-mindedness. Alcohol and syphilis are also powerful factors. Some observers have claimed that these two evils have been contributing causes in more than one-third of the cases: while in some instances the feeble-mindedness from these causes is congenital, it is not genuinely hereditary.

b. Causes of Backwardness.

Coming to the backward children we find that powerful causes must have operated to retard persons four or more years. Brain defect is undoubtedly an important cause, but this is aggravated by the conditions under which children live and by the physical defects which have been developed by them. Important causes of mental dullness are defective eyesight, defective hearing, adenoids, and throat disorders. The defects that increase with the age of the child also aggravate

[1] Butler, Amos, *The Burden of Feeble-mindedness*, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1907, p. 8.

the retardation. Among these are poor eyesight and hearing. In Germany, Dr. Cohn found that 22 per cent of the children in the lower grades had defective eyesight and 58 per cent in the upper grades. Advance in education becomes increasingly difficult under such conditions. In Sweden, Axel Key found a similar problem. At eleven years of age, 6 per cent of the children had defective eyesight, but at 20 the proportion rose to 37. Among American school children, the proportion is about one-fourth. Much backwardness must be due to this cause, for eye strain and overtaxed attention act directly on the nervous system and make it incapable of producing normal mental activity.

The nose and throat affections are powerful causes of backwardness. They are often accompanied by other defects, so that the results become cumulative. Adenoids often affect the mind and produce a mental sluggishness that leaves the child severely retarded. Their removal has in many instances relieved the brain and accelerated mental activity. The operation, however, must be performed in time or the mind becomes incapable of recovering from its depression.

A physical examination of backward children throws some light on the causes of their retardation. The compilation of the defects of 2230 children examined in New York City in 1911-1912 shows that 79.6 per cent had defective eyesight; the hearing of 70.1 per cent was affected; 65.4 per cent had defective teeth; 48.2 per cent had throat trouble; 41.5 per cent suffered from defective speech; and 39 per cent had adenoids. In all, these 2230 children had over 11,000 defects—nearly 5 per child—as contrasted with an average of about 1 per child among normal school children. A large number also suffered from malnutrition. Of the atypical children examined in 1908, 60 per cent were misfed. The large number of physical defects from which backward children suffer are, no doubt, responsibile for a considerable share of their retardation. Even the child with a normal mind and brain could not withstand the onslaught of so many physical defects. And the

clinic has demonstrated the close connection between dullness and defects. Such illustrations as the following corroborate this fact: a boy brought to the psychological clinic conducted by Dr. Witmer was thought to be feeble-minded. He was found to be badly in need of dental care; certain teeth were extracted, and a wonderful improvement followed. Another boy was burdened with deafness and adenoids. He was relieved and improved at once.

Dullness also results from a feeble condition of the nervous system, and many causes operate to affect the nerves. Among them are malnutrition, excitement, overwork, etc. Dr. Francis Warner claims that 9 per cent of 50,000 London school children whom he studied showed abnormal nerve conditions. Such conditions are, however, themselves effects and we must search farther to ascertain the ultimate causes responsible for arrested mental development. Poor physical conditions easily affect the mind, therefore causes of physical deterioration are causes of mental retardation. Poverty is no doubt an important factor.

A cause of continued defect is the discouragement that comes when slightly deficient children try to keep up with brighter schoolmates and fail. Since they cannot receive special attention, they lose courage and fall farther behind. Absence from school for whatever reason is probably the most common cause of retardation, and while this is not strictly backwardness, it often appears so, and when sufficiently pronounced amounts to the same thing, because the child lacking early training is not so apt and active in mind as is the normal child. A bad environment leaves no uncertain effects.

Hereditary weakness is responsible for much backwardness. Especially is this true of the more serious cases. But physical defects and the unfavorable conditions under which many children live bear so heavily upon them that the slightest inherited defect has cumulative consequences.

Passing over the normal groups or the great majority of children, we come to that small proportion possessing excep-

tional mental characteristics. These children owe their advantages to one or more of the following causes:

(1) Hereditary Influences.
(2) Variations from Parental Types.
(3) Training.

Investigation has shown that exceptional ability frequently runs in families. This fact, however, does not make heredity the sole factor responsible for the advantage. The social environment has no doubt operated to produce good results. The genius has not yet been explained. Frequently his offspring are most mediocre; seldom do they rise to his level of mentality. He seems rather to be an accidental variation—a departure from the expected distribution of mentality in a family. If so, his progeny tend to revert to the ancestral type. From the eugenic standpoint, therefore, we cannot hope for a more rapid mental improvement of the race through the children of the genius than through the remainder of the group possessing exceptional natural ability. In fact, the progressive variation from a type is more likely to reproduce an equally capable offspring than is the radical and fickle variation, which has found no rational explanation. The latter often produces a genius in one generation and defectives in the next. The environment of very young children often develops a precocity which makes their mental age exceed their physical age, but this exceptional condition is not inherent and cannot be made permanent except by subjecting each generation to similar influences. Racially no gain has been made, but if a continuously favorable environment is assured the results are quite as secure. Without doubt the great majority of exceptional school children have been affected by both hereditary and environmental influences.

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CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

1. Need of Classification of Children.

The first step in a program of education for the mentally subnormal groups consists in testing and grading the mentality of the children. In this way the mental age of a child will be discovered and the plan for his education will be simplified. Such tests should be made of all backward and defective children coming under the notice of the school authorities, of the children sent to institutions for defectives, and of all delinquents brought into the juvenile courts. A special test should be made of those sent to reformatory institutions. A wide-awake attendance department of the local school system will discover every child of school age regardless of mentality, and each doubtful case will then be referred to the proper school officials for examination.

Some standard intelligence test should then be applied, the child classified as to mentality and steps taken to assign him to the institution or type of school to which he belongs. Most of the large cities now make such studies of children of doubtful classification. The work may be done through a psycho-educational clinic, a department of child study or some similar organization of experts. The task is such a heavy one that cities find difficulty in coping with the problem. Usually they have been unable to provide a staff adequate for the need. Arbitrary methods therefore often become necessary: for example in one city each school principal was expected to send to the clinic the poorest one-half of one per cent of his pupils. Unfortunately some schools attempt to train many more who should also obtain the benefit of a psychological examination,

while other schools are happy in the almost total absence of doubtful cases. Experience has shown that the actual proportion of feeble-minded is much less than that assumed by the casual observer. In fact, the clinics are disclosing the fact that a large percentage of the children examined are merely retarded or are suffering from some physical defect that occasions the difficulty. Such children should not be grouped with the backward or feeble-minded. As a matter of fact various types of classes are springing up to meet precisely such a situation.

The needs of the state apart from its largest cities can only be met by the establishment of a traveling psychiatric or mental hygiene clinic. Such a clinic was provided for by law in Massachusetts in 1919. Provision is made in the plan for the use of psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers. The state is divided into districts for each of which a specially trained psychiatrist is responsible. The field of inquiry is indicated from the outline to be covered in the examination of each child. The points are: physical examination, family history, personal history, school progress, practical knowledge, general information, economic efficiency, social history and traits, moral reaction and psychological test. A comprehensive study such as this should reveal the fundamental problems to be faced and result in a diagnosis on the basis of which a constructive program for the child can be planned.

Many children who are not subnormal are nevertheless problems of conduct and behavior and are drifting into a career of delinquency. If the basis for such behavior can be ascertained, the fateful consequences may be avoided through the aid of the psychiatric social worker, and the child already delinquent can more easily be restored if the probation officer has knowledge concerning the psychopathic condition of his ward.

Before a city is visited by the clinic, arrangements are usually made to facilitate the work for the clinic when it arrives. Its stay is short, usually not more than one week.

During this time perhaps 60 children are examined, but there are several clinics in operation at the same time. The volume of work done in Massachusetts is evidenced by the record of the first fourteen months of service during which about 4500 children were examined.

Traveling clinics are needed in every state in order to facilitate the examination of children in the rural districts and in the smaller towns.

Bulletin, 1911, number 14 of the United States Bureau of Education classifies exceptional children in respect to administrative oversight, education, and care.[1] Although both the physically and the mentally defective are classified by the Bureau, only the latter group will be included in the classification that follows:

Institutional cases, to be dismissed from care and oversight of school authorities; insane and demented children, feeble-minded, below middle grade imbeciles, high grade moral imbeciles, and epileptics.

Cases for special instruction in schools; backward but capable of restoration to normal grade, dull, retarded through physical defects, and the gifted.

Uncertain classification; high grade imbeciles, feeble-minded above this grade, and mild cases of epilepsy.

From the administrative point of view these groups contain three definite types of children: first, the untrainable; second, those trainable to some degree, but needing constant supervision and oversight; third, the group capable of considerable training and of partial or even complete self-support, and not needing institutional care. The duty of the public school and of the state directly to these groups is determined largely by the conditions which underlie this classification; that is, the grade of mentality. The state is justified in supporting individuals if necessary, and also providing training; the schools give institutional care only to groups that can be restored to normal conditions, such as truants and delinquents.

[1] Pp. 21-22.

2. Care of the Idiot.

Beginning with the lowest groups we have the idiots and other untrainable classes which need institutional care and protection. Accordingly it is not the function of the school to deal with this class of defectives, but it is the duty of the state to place them under custodial care. For this purpose every state needs one or more institutions. According to the best estimates only a small proportion—perhaps one-third—of the feeble-minded are in institutions at the present time, although the percentage of idiots given custodial care may be larger because of their helplessness and the trouble they cause in private homes. Since they are incapable of self-support, cannot be trained, and may become a public menace, they should be permanently committed to a state institution for the feeble-minded. This applies especially to women, who otherwise frequently become the mothers of illegitimate and feeble-minded children.

3. Education of the Feeble-minded.

The trainable groups should be educated as far as their capacity allows. If, however, they cannot become self-supporting, they will also need institutional care. Furthermore, they are a greater racial menace than the idiots, because they are more likely to indulge in sex irregularities. They are very prolific, and the women are the constant prey of the immoral men of the communities in which they live. For this group, again, the state must make provision. Colonies for the feeble-minded should be established, and training provided for every inmate capable of making advance.

The first attempts to educate the feeble-minded were made in France by the physician, Itard, and the physician and educator, Seguin. The latter experimented for many years, and finally in 1842 he began to train a small class of feeble-minded children. His method was given to the world, and in a few years training schools for the feeble-minded were established in various countries. These schools also provided institutional care, but detention was not made permanent. Massachusetts

was the first American state to establish a school, which dates from 1849. The larger and more populous states have established similar institutions, several of them each having more than one, but in 1918, 15 of the 48 states were still without public institutions of this kind. In all there were 43 state schools and 32 private schools, some of the latter being in states making no public provision for the feeble-minded. In all of these institutions children are divided into two groups: the trainable and the untrainable. In 1918 the state schools reported 35,968 inmates, 54 per cent of which were neither in school nor in kindergarten; that is, were incapable of literary instruction. Many of these, however, were being trained in the industrial departments of the school. A very small percentage of all the children attained the equivalent of a fifth grade education. The private institutions are very small, and in 1918 contained only 983 inmates, and they are therefore of but little aid in the training of the feeble-minded, but the majority of their inmates belong to the trainable class. About one-third of the states have neither public nor private provision for the feeble-minded, who, if given any care at all, are confined in almshouses, asylums, children's institutions, etc., where they receive no training adapted to their needs.

In attempting to educate the trainable imbeciles and morons, several principles are observed:

(1) Careful attention is given to the amount and quality of food consumed by the inmates, since the development of the body reacts profoundly on the mind.

(2) Adequate medical care is provided so as to enable every organ of the body to function to the best advantage.

(3) Exercise and outdoor recreation are used as a physical and mental tonic. Fresh air invigorates and stimulates.

(4) Manual training and the correlation of hand and brain, or the development of the brain through the hand, furnish the best methods of education.

(5) Industrial classes are considered the best supplement to manual training.

(6) The development of individual aptitudes and of capacity along the lines of least resistance is the most promising ideal of training.

(7) Class work is ungraded, so as to allow every inmate to progress as rapidly as he can.

The inability of the state to provide institutional facilities for all of its feeble-minded necessitates an extension of the work of the public schools to include the education of the most advanced children of the moron type. Such children can be gathered at the most convenient centers for individual instruction in day schools. Many can come to the schools unattended and can go about without danger to themselves. The only hope of educating the bulk of these subnormal children under present conditions lies in the widening functions of the schools. In many cities where special provision has been made for backward children, some provision is also made for children of this lower type of mentality. In 1918, according to a study by the United States Bureau of Education, 131 cities maintained schools or classes for defective and subnormal children, most of these cities being located in the North Atlantic and North Central states. Unless eugenic considerations forbid, the public schools can well supplement the work of the state. Perhaps some plan of supervision must be adopted.

4. Education of Backward Children.

The education of the backward children is a problem of special importance because of the large number of children involved. It is distinctly a question to be solved by the public school, for these children have an undoubted right to an education.

a. Methods of Providing for Education.

Backward children can be handled in several ways. In the first place they may receive individual help from teachers employed for this special purpose. The ordinary teacher has not time to devote to children who cannot remain abreast of their grade, because of the volume of work that devolves upon her. Consequently many children, when once retarded, fall

farther and farther behind. This difficulty can be met, in part, by a plan of individual instruction and help such as the so-called "Batavia plan," which consists of the employment of additional teachers to assist the backward pupils. Under certain conditions this plan has been successful, but its application has been largely limited to assistance for the retarded rather than the backward. The latter group really require a different variety of instruction from that given in the regular classroom; special aid in school work, therefore, does not solve the problem. In a number of cities, however, special teachers for this purpose are placed in the schools where individual instruction is most necessary.

The second method of care is through the special class for backward children. Instruction adapted to the children can be provided, and teachers specially trained for such work can be secured. The plan does not involve the expenditure of money for a building equipment and the playgrounds can be used by all. Furthermore, classes can be established whenever needed, and it is claimed that parents are less reluctant to send their children to special classes than to special schools. Besides, the children enjoy the advantages which come from association with normal children, while the latter probably do not suffer from the contacts. On the other hand, children soon learn the distinctions involved in the establishment of special classes. Accordingly the backward will suffer from the taunts and gibes to which they will be continually subjected. Such treatment tends to discourage and to demoralize them or to arouse resentment. New York City adheres strongly to this plan, but conditions differ widely from those obtaining in smaller and less congested cities.

The third method consists of the establishment of special schools. This plan is the most expensive, because it necessitates special building and playground equipment, and the schools are also less accessible to children. This frequently involves carfare, the cost of which in some cases is borne by the school authorities. Furthermore, many parents do not

want their children to attend these schools. On the other hand, this plan results in the most satisfactory adaptation of the work to the needs of the pupils, since the special school exists for one purpose only—the education of backward children. The problem is therefore likely to receive more attention than if some other plan is followed. The associations of the children are wholesome, and they compete with each other for advancement; classes are purposely kept small, and individual instruction is given. This method, however, is not generally adopted, preference being given to the second plan.

b. History and Extent of the Movement.

On account of the large number of backward children, the development of special provisions for their training is particularly important. As usual, the work began abroad, special classes for mentally deficient children being established in Germany in 1867, while Norway followed in 1874, and England, Switzerland, and Austria in 1892. In Prussia since 1880 special schools or classes for defectives have been required in all cities having a population of 20,000 or more.

The German system is not uniform, some cities having special schools, others contenting themselves with special classes for these children. The first special class in England was opened in 1892. A low type of backward children were allowed to enter, so the results have been far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, the large English cities have established special schools for the care of this class of children. The laws of 1899 and 1902 required the local educational authorities to provide for the mentally defective children. Many children are therefore maintained as well as educated. In 1908 the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded recommended that the school authorities give up the plan of providing for mentally defective children, and that the responsibility for the defective of all grades and of all ages be centralized in a separate body. This signifies opposition to control by the schools over the lower grades of defectives, but the best grade of backward children are not affected, and for them special provision by

the schools is gaining ground. In 1908 London operated 27 centers for their training.

In the United States, Providence, Rhode Island, first took up the work for backward children. In 1893 three schools for special discipline and instruction were organized and made a part of the public school system. Backward children were tried in these disciplinary schools, but it was soon discovered that treatment suited to mischievous boys was not suited to slow-minded children. Accordingly, in 1896 a special class for the latter was opened. Others have been added since, and marked success has been achieved in the training of the children.

The first special class in Boston was organized in 1899 and furnished the impetus for the work there. Only improvable children are accepted, and cases recommended by school principals are examined by a medical expert before admission. Each school district also maintains an ungraded class, which, however, is practically limited to retarded or immigrant children. The work in Philadelphia was prompted by the activity of local social agencies through whose efforts a private school for the education of backward children was organized. In 1901, however, a special class was established in one of the public schools. For some years the backward and incorrigible were taught in the same buildings, although they were placed in separate classes. A complete differentiation has finally taken place.

In New York City considerable attention has been given to the dull and backward children, and special classes, but not special schools, have been established for them. Each year the doubtful cases are referred by the school principals to the examining physicians who ascertain their mental condition, and also the physical defects from which they may be suffering. Certain grades and types are then assigned to the special or ungraded class. The majority of the schools have proposed children for the special classes and owing to the fact that the average number proposed per school is equivalent to a con-

veniently sized class an increasing number of the schools are gradually being provided with a special room and equipment for the education of the backward. In Cleveland the mentally backward are gathered in special classes which in 1920 numbered 27. With 62 teachers for an average enrollment of 888 the number of pupils per teacher was slightly above 14. In this way much individual work was made possible, but it doubled the per capita cost of instruction.

These examples of provision for backward children sufficiently illustrate the method of development. In the following table is summarized the extent of such provision in American cities in 1913 and 1918.[1]

	1918	1913
Number cities	131	52
Number states represented	25	....
Number pupils enrolled	18,133	9,357
Number instructors	1,134	586

These figures show that the majority of our communities do not realize the importance of training backward children. Many states have not even glimpsed the vision of this service, and usually the cities that have made some provision have not completed the development of their plans. Often the backward are not properly separated from the definitely feeble-minded and other inconsistencies are permitted. In fact the merging of these two groups constitutes a serious menace in many communities.

These cities are scattered all over the country and the various sections do not differ widely from each other in the proportion of cities making special provisions for backward children. Western cities seem to be slightly in the lead, but nowhere has the problem been entirely solved.

c. Principles of Care and Training.

The first generally accepted step in the handling of backward children is their separation from the normal group; otherwise

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education: Bulletin 1919. No. 70. *Schools and Classes for Feebleminded and Subnormal Children.*

the education of the normal classes is greatly handicapped. Teachers are usually kept busy with their regular work, so the subnormal child is neglected. He is soon discouraged and drops out of school with no preparation for life and with little or no capacity for self-support. The removal of the child from his grade should follow one or two failures, provided, of course, that there has not been some valid reason for his defection. Germany has a wise system of admission to special classes. If after several trials children fail to advance with the regular grades, they are visited in their homes and then sent to the special classes on trial. After a few weeks a committee, consisting of inspector, school doctor, and teacher pass upon their fitness to remain.

If after a fair chance, backward children fail to respond to special class instruction, they should be placed in institutions and their places given to others who might profit by the opportunity. Just as the dull child must be taken from the regular grades, so the feeble-minded child must be taken from the special classes. He is the same menace there that the backward child is in the ordinary schoolroom.

In the second place, medical attention is most urgent. Besides the initial medical examination to detect defects, regular inspection must be made. Physical defects are so often the primary or contributory causes of backwardness that their removal would at once stimulate the child to vigorous mental development. Wholesome nutrition should also be required, as misfeeding is an important factor, and nurses should be assigned to these classes or schools to attend to the hygienic and medical needs of the children. Good results have been accomplished by such methods, but, on the other hand, the value of medical care is often exaggerated. A study of 600 backward children in London indicated that only 16 per cent were retarded because of physical defects or ill health, and in a small proportion of additional cases the defects were regarded as contributory causes.[1]

[1] Hogarth, A. H., *Medical Inspection of Schools*, p. 51.

Ungraded work and individual instruction are necessary here, as in the case of the feeble-minded. Classes should be limited to 15, and no school should contain more than three or four classes. Such an arrangement brings together a sufficient number of children to allow an economical use of material equipment and to reduce to reasonable limits the per capita cost of maintaining the building. A corps of trained teachers for this work is specially necessary, the training gained by teaching in schools for the feeble-minded being exceptionally valuable. Kind, patient, optimistic women probably excel in this service. The German plan of employing men is not regarded as so satisfactory.

The class work is based on the theory that the training of the hand arouses action in the brain. Accordingly, emphasis is placed on sloyd, clay modeling, basket weaving, sewing, and raffia work, and in addition, for the girls, various branches of domestic science. Games are emphasized, and children are taught to play. Nature study is a valuable part of the curriculum in some of the New York schools. On the whole, the work of these classes must be such that it will invigorate the body and stimulate the mind so as to awaken the dormant faculties.

d. Results.

While attempts to train backward children have resulted in their improvement in a large proportion of cases, the development of capacity for self-support is more doubtful. German experience has shown that about 83 per cent of these children are able at the end of school age to secure employment requiring little skill, and can in time become partly self-supporting. Some will be able to maintain themselves. The care of the remaining 17 per cent is more of a problem, and without doubt the majority should eventually be transferred to institutions. In Birmingham, England, where an after-care committee has kept careful record of pupils of special classes, about one-third of the cases followed have been reported as wage-earners, but only a small percentage of them were self-supporting. About 38 per cent seemed to require permanent protection and at least

partial support. Many of the children in the English special schools, however, belong to the moron type.

No American statistics relating to the economic effects of special training are available. The figures for a number of cities show that a small proportion can be returned to regular classes; for example, in one year Chicago returned 10 per cent of the children from its subnormal divisions, and New York promoted 8.6 per cent of the children in the ungraded classes. Usually when the pupils become 16 years of age they drop out of school and are lost to the school authorities, and while a small proportion enter industry, little is known of the remainder. "After-care committees" are needed to assist them and counsel with them so as to increase their opportunities.

e. The Montessori Method.

The Montessori method of educating children was developed by Madame Montessori, an Italian physician, through her observations and experiences in educating backward children. She adapted many of the principles developed by Seguin and by Froebel. She believes in the education of the senses, with especial attention to the sense of touch, which she believes has been neglected. She trains children to do the hosts of ordinary tasks of daily life in a scientific way. This leads to early control of the muscles and to symmetrical physical education. She would do away with repression and irksome discipline, thinks children should not be restrained except when their activities interfere with the rights of others, and believes much in individual initiative. She lets her pupils sit or lie or assume any comfortable position to do their self-selected tasks. Self-expression and individuality are encouraged, and the rather complete sets of apparatus used in the Montessori schools are designed to teach, through practice in doing well, the ordinary duties and tasks. For example, through working with their sets of buttoning and lacing flaps, children learn to dress and undress themselves and younger brothers and sisters. In order to teach children these very elementary things they enter the schools at a very tender age. In short, the Montessori method

directs the play impulse to useful activity; develops the sense organs, thereby stimulating the brain; adapts the principles of home life to school life; permits the child to follow his own inclinations; and employs the prosaic duties of life for educational purposes.

5. Facilities for the Gifted.

It is unfair to the exceptionally gifted to hold them back by the ironclad classifications of the ordinary grade schools. The psychological effects on children of lingering in grades that they have outgrown is distinctly bad, and opportunities must be given them to make special progress. In an effort to meet this need, a number of cities have developed plans for the more rapid advancement of this group of children, but the graded system makes it rather difficult to carry out any plan so as to make it uniformly successful.

This work is new and unsettled in character, but follows several general lines, of which the following are representative: first, flexible grading, reported by Baltimore, Cleveland, and other cities, by means of which pupils of like ability are placed together in slow and fast grades. The fast classes are larger, do more extensive work, and cover a wider range of facts. Second, many schools divide the year into three or four parts, and the especially gifted are able to skip an occasional part year. A third plan is that of organizing special classes at the beginning of the seventh or eighth grades to take up high school work. Indianapolis has a scheme of this sort by means of which children strong in mathematics and language, for example, may exchange their eighth grade work in these branches for high school algebra and Latin, thereby securing a half year's credit in advance of their grade. Lincoln, Nebraska; Rochester, New York; Worcester, Massachusetts, etc., report work of this kind. This work though quite as important as the work for backward children does not constitute so grave a problem because gifted pupils are easily taught and are not in such need of special methods and unusually trained teachers. They usually need

merely to be put in advanced classes and kept busy. It is most important, however, that this slight and inexpensive provision be made for them.

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CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

The idea of public education obtained a firm hold in the United States in the very early days. As early as 1787 when the Northwest Territory was laid out, one section in every township was reserved for public educational purposes. Since that time the school has attempted to meet the needs of our rapidly changing conditions.

In the simple society of colonial days the child was exposed to normal life experiences from infancy. When the sheep were sheared, the wool carded and spun, the cloth woven and the garments made right in the home; when trade was carried on to a large extent in kind; when transportation meant the ox-cart or the saddle-horse, and twenty miles was a long journey; when Bible reading and prayer were parts of the daily routine, when life's relationships were simple and the child came into direct contact with them every hour of the day; then the school which taught reading, writing, arithmetic and spelling filled the needs and gave the child a well rounded experience.

But with the introduction of machinery; the divorce of industry from the home; the subsequent growth of the city and the influx of large groups of foreigners; the substitution of monetary values; the rapid spread of commercialized recreation; with all of these changes the school has been called upon to supply those activities formerly supplied by the simple social order and at the same time to supply that background necessary for the individual's adjustment to the complex order of to-day.

Just what steps the schools have taken to meet these de-

1775	1825	1850	1875	1900
Reading	Grammar	History	Drawing	Physiology and Hygiene
Spelling	Reading	Grammar	Civics	Literature
Writing	Spelling	Reading	History	Drawing
Arithmetic	Writing	Spelling	Grammar	Civics
Bible	Arithmetic	Writing	Reading	History
	Conduct	Arithmetic	Spelling	Grammar
	Bookkeeping	Conduct	Writing	Reading
	Geography	Bookkeeping	Arithmetic	Spelling
		Geography	Conduct	Writing
		Object Lessons	Nature Study	Arithmetic
			Geography	Play
			Music	Nature Study
			Physical Education	Geography
				Music
				Physical Education
				Sewing
				Manual Training

mands is illustrated by the above diagram prepared by Charles L. Spain.[1]

How far this extension of subject matter has met and is meeting the complex needs of our present day society is a question upon which there is much study and discussion.

Perhaps the strongest indictment against the schools is seen in the number of children who leave just as soon as the law permits and the large number of children who are behind their grade.

"In the earlier days of our educational development we dealt with school delinquents much as the church of the time dealt with religious delinquents. They were simply left outside the pale. As the Church could not be wrong and the difficulty must, of course, lie with the sinner, so the school felt itself to be right and the difficulty to be with the children who found the school unattractive and did not attend. Both Church and school have since seen fit to revise this judgment, as well as their methods of dealing with the young." [2]

In order to understand the magnitude of the problem which this country faces it is necessary to ascertain the approximate number of children with which the school must deal, the percentage that actually take advantage of their educational opportunities, the amount of illiteracy and the probable proportion of retardation and elimination.

1. School Attendance.

In 1920 there were in the United States 31,250,870 persons between the ages of 5 and 20 years, inclusive, and of this number 65.5 per cent, or nearly two-thirds, attended school. School attendance is much heavier among children from 7 to 13 years of age than at any other time. The distribution of school attendance according to various age groups for the years 1919-1920 is shown in the table on page 264.[3]

A further analysis of the figures by the Census Bureau shows

[1] Detroit Education Bulletin 1920, No. 2.
[2] Cubberly, E. P., *Public Education in the United States.*
[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census. *School Attendance.* 1920.

AGE PERIOD	PER CENT ATTENDING SCHOOL					
	All Classes		White		Negro	
	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920
7–13 inclusive	86.1	90.6	89.4	92.5	64.1	76.5
14–15 "	75.0	79.9	77.4	81.5	58.3	68.7
16–17 "	43.1	42.9	44.1	43.4	35.5	39.2
18–20 "	15.2	14.8	15.7	15.2	11.7	10.8

that the highest percentage of attendance occurs at 11 years of age—93.9 per cent. There are also a considerable number of children entering school at five and six years of age. In fact more than one-half of the six-year group is enrolled. The range of compulsory attendance in most states, however, is from 7 or 8 to 14 years. As a consequence attendance is rather regular until the age limit of compulsory attendance has been reached. After this age there is a rapid decline. Only one-half of the 16-year age group is in school and at 20, only 8 per cent are in attendance. It is probable that about 2,000,000 children between 14 and 17 are out of school.

The situation is much better for the white children than for the colored, a fact due partly to the absence of compulsory attendance in many parts of the South and partly to the meager attention paid the negro child. In 1920 of all children aged 7 to 14 years, 90.6 per cent attended school, but the proportions for colored were only 76.5. In such states as Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois, however, negro children showed a percentage almost as high as that for white children, but in the Southern states the relative proportion was much lower. And yet the percentage of attendance has been gratifying, and indicates progress.

In regard to nativity it appears that the maximum attendance of children 7 to 14 years of age occurred among native whites of foreign parentage, followed by native whites of native parentage, and then by the foreign born. The order is not uniform in the various states, however; in some the highest proportion of attendance being found among those of native

extraction. Again for each of these groups the Southern states show the least promising results. Of the 68 cities having 100,000 population or more, 44 had a higher proportion of attendance from children of native than of foreign extraction; in 22 the converse was the case; and in 2 the proportions were equal.

Rural and urban districts showed little difference in respect to the proportion attending school, when the entire population from 6 to 20 years is considered. The subgroups, however, are very unlike. Considering the entire group it appears that in 1920 in the rural districts 68.3 per cent attended school: in the cities 67.9 per cent, but among the group under 14 the proportionate attendance in the cities was considerably higher and a slight advantage was also noted in the group from 14 to 16. Beyond these ages the preponderance lies with the rural child. Cities predominate in sending small children to school; the rural districts, in sending larger ones. These figures, however, do not relate to the average length of attendance, but only to the number of children who have attended school at some time during the year.

The average number of days that children attend school during the year furnishes an indication of their actual educational advantages. In 1920 the average length of the school term was 156.8 days—an increase of 3.9 days from the preceding year. The figures for the different states vary widely, from 109.6 days in South Carolina to 189 days in New Jersey. If 180 days be accepted as the standard length of a school term, then only four states exceeded the standard. Some educators consider 1620 days of school attendance by the child during the years from 6 to 16 as a reasonable requirement; that is, 90 per cent of the possible attendance for ten years on the basis of the standard school term. Measured by the actual attendance of children in 1920 the children of several Southern states received less than 50 per cent of the needed education. For the entire country the proportion was 75 per cent for the enrolled children, and over one-fourth of the children were

regularly absent from school. These facts indicate the existence of two very serious evils: a short school year, and a large proportion of non-attendance. In spite therefore of the high proportion of children enrolled, unless the average period of attendance is considerably longer, children are not being adequately prepared for the problems and duties of life. Some of the low averages do not even reveal the worst conditions, because the cities raise the average for a state, the school year in the rural districts being usually shorter than in the cities.

2. Illiteracy.

The test of our educational system depends primarily upon the degree of education actually imparted, not upon the proportion of children attending school nor upon the average number of days attended. A considerable group of children evade our schools entirely and remain illiterate. They indicate the extent to which American public opinion fails to support the minimum standard. The success and failure in meeting this low ideal are best measured by the actual illiteracy among our native white population over 10 years of age. Many adult foreigners are illiterate, and they should of course be excluded from our computation. So with the negro. In the following table are presented rates of illiteracy for persons 10 years of age and over, for children 10 to 14, and for urban and rural districts.[1]

CLASS OF POPULATION	PERSONS 10 YEARS AND OVER. PERCENTAGE ILLITERATE		CHILDREN 10-14. PERCENTAGE ILLITERATE		PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ILLITERATE			
					Urban		Rural	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total	6.0	7.7	2.3	4.1	4.4	5.1	7.7	10.1
White	4.0	5.0	1.1	1.8	..	4.2	..	5.8
Native white of native parents	2.5	3.7	1.1	2.2	.8	.9	3.8	5.4
Native white of foreign parents	.8	1.1	.6	.6	.5	.7	1.4	1.9
Foreign born	13.1	12.7	4.5	3.5	13.0	12.6	13.3	13.2
Negro	22.9	30.4	11.4	18.9	13.4	17.6	28.5	36.0

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Illiteracy* (1920).

Illiteracy is being gradually reduced, every class of population except the foreign born participating in this gain. In spite of this fact more than 3,000,000 illiterates were enumerated in 1920 of which 58.7 per cent were of foreign birth. Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage yielded the lowest percentage of illiteracy in both age groups as represented above, and in urban and rural districts as well. This superiority of the native born of foreign extraction is largely apparent, being due to their location in cities and states where compulsory education laws are in force. Many persons of native parentage live in localities not reached by such laws. In the cities the difference in the proportions between persons of native extraction and those of native birth but foreign parentage is reduced to three-tenths of one per cent. In the rural districts the differences are greater, due in part to the absence of educational opportunities in the South, and to the poverty of certain parts of the section where the population is almost exclusively of native extraction.

A comparison of the proportion of illiterate males 21 years of age and over in the 68 cities having 100,000 inhabitants or more in 1920 shows that in 35 the native whites of native parents had a lower percentage of illiteracy than did those of foreign parentage; in 14 the rate is lower for the latter; and in 19 the proportions are equal. In most cases the differences were very slight. The figures indicate that local conditions rather than race or nationality are principally responsible for these differences.

Four per cent of the white population 10 years of age and over are illiterate. The rate in rural districts for whites is slightly higher than in cities, but the census enumeration shows that the rate for native whites in the cities is only one-fifth as high as it is in the rural districts. The high percentage of illiteracy among the foreign born tends to equalize the rates between country and town. Among the negroes, however, rates are very high in the country, due largely to the absence of schools and of compulsory attendance. The comparatively

high rate for the native whites in rural districts is caused principally by heavy illiteracy among the mountain people of the Southern states, where from 15 to 19 per cent of the rural population are illiterate. In the Central West the rates are less than 3 per cent, and in a number of states the illiteracy of native whites of native parentage 10 years of age and over is less than one-half of 1 per cent, but in Louisiana and New Mexico it rises to nearly 12. The smallest percentage of illiteracy among all classes is found in the following states: Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, and Idaho. In these states it is not over 1.5 per cent.

The very low rates of illiteracy among children 10 to 14 years of age in the East and North indicate that good laws can almost eliminate illiteracy. The rather high rates for the United States as a whole depend upon three groups of our population: first, the foreign born, a large proportion of whom are illiterate adults who do not acquire an education after arriving in the United States; second, the native whites of the backward and mountainous regions of the South, where educational facilities are inadequate and the people are poor; third, the negroes, who receive less attention than do the whites and who have little opportunity for education in many of the states.

Most of the North European countries excel the United States in the reduction of their illiteracy, but in South and East Europe an enormous amount of illiteracy prevails. The race composition of the American people makes comparison with foreign countries unfair.

3. Distribution of Children in Grades.

It is impossible to secure data in regard to the actual grade attainment of American school children. Therefore we do not know the average degree of education acquired. Even though our illiteracy be small, unless the literate can make practical use of their education, the gain is not great.

The estimates for the United States as a whole show a considerable shrinkage in the proportion of children in the higher

grades. This fact is due to the larger number of children in the lower age groups, to the elimination of children by death, to retardation, and to the gradual dropping out of school by the older children.

Conditions in 1920 were superior to those of the previous decade and a larger proportion of children than before were classified in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. Furthermore the number of high school children more than doubled during the decade. Nevertheless there is a marked degree of elimination. Although in some cities nearly half of the children completed the eighth grade, for the country as a whole the proportion is obviously less than 20 per cent or one out of five.

4. Retarded and Underaged Children.

Children who are not more than three years behind their normal grade are retarded, but are not usually considered backward. Children who are in advance of their normal grade, on the other hand, are not considered gifted unless they are exceptionally bright. In every city we find a considerable percentage of the children varying from the normal either favorably or unfavorably.

Strayer summarized the extensive study of retardation made by the Bureau of Education and presented some of the results in the following table.

MEDIAN PERCENTAGES FOR NORMAL AGED, OVERAGED, AND UNDERAGED CHILDREN

	CITIES OF OVER 25,000		CITIES OF LESS THAN 25,000	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Normal	56	60	54	58
1 year over age	20	18	20	18
2 years over age	10	9	11	8
3 years over age	5	3	4	3
4 years over age	2	1	2	1
Total over age	38	32	38	36
Total under age	4	4	4	5

These figures indicate that more than one-third of the children are retarded but only about 4 per cent are above normal

grade. More than half of the retardation, however, is found in the group who are not more than one year over age. Still retardation is many times as heavy as rapid promotion. The proportion of children retarded one year shows wide differences which range from 3 to 33 per cent for boys among the smaller cities; those retarded two years rise as high as 22 per cent; for three years to 15 per cent. It is evident that a great disparity of conditions obtains among the American cities. Influences of great importance are operating to produce these results.

The amount of retardation is somewhat affected by the proportion of the various race elements in our population. An intensive study of 46,836 children 8 years of age and over by the Immigration Commission shows that 36.6 per cent of the children were retarded, and that the rates of retardation among certain racial groups were as follows: [1]

Native born	30.3 per cent
White	28.1 per cent
Negro	66.8 per cent
Indian	47.8 per cent
Foreign born	40.4 per cent
English speaking races	27.3 per cent
Non-English speaking races	43.4 per cent

Among the white children the non-English speaking races show the highest proportion of retardation, the Polish Jews ranking first with 66.9 per cent, the South Italians following with 63.6 per cent, while the Swedes show the lowest percentage, 15.5. These differences indicate the importance of ascertaining the causes of retardation.

Another condition affecting the problem is the percentage of repeaters. In its effort to study the causes of retardation the federal government learned that the proportion of repeaters among the boys ranged from 9.8 to 14.5 per cent; among the girls, from 8.4 to 10.9 per cent—figures which correspond roughly to those mentioned by Strayer. The most compre-

[1] Report of Immigration Commission, Vol. II, p. 36.

hensive statement that has yet been made was presented by a special committee directed by the New York City Board of Education to study the subject. This committee after a careful study presented a report in which they designated the following causes of retardation.

Irregular attendance.

Truancy due to the lack of support by the courts in the enforcement of law, and to failure of parents to coöperate.

Insufficient number of truant officers.

Ignorance of the English language.

Late entrance to school.

Transferals to other schools.

Physical defects.

Sluggish mentality.

Oversized classes.

Absence of teachers.

Part time attendance at school.

Varying standards of rating pupils.

Insufficient teaching.

Improper methods of promotion.

The federal government presents the following table based on investigations involving 1042 boys and 804 girls, who were compelled to repeat their work in the grades.[1]

REASONS FOR REPEATING	PERCENTAGES	
	Boys	Girls
Irregular attendance or absence	29.7	34.1
Lack of ability, slowness, dullness, or immaturity	20.0	21.2
Lack of interest or application	24.1	16.2
Poor health and physical defects	12.9	14.9
Lack of English	6.3	8.2
Other	7.0	5.4

Some of the causes named in the above table are merely precipitating causes, so the ultimate conditions underlying retardation still remain obscure. However, the proportions

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 281.

given have value. Irregular attendance is a compound consisting of dislike of school, poor health, moving, and other conditions, and accounts for nearly one-third of the repetitions. It is significant that the proportion due to lack of interest is higher among boys than among girls, indicating that our schools fail somewhat in making school work appear practical to boys. One-fifth of the children repeating are apparently incapable of normal progress. Feeble mentality, poor health, malnutrition, and physical defects are the principal causes of these conditions, but their proportionate importance can only be guessed at. At all events slow progress appears to be largely controllable.

The reasons why children leave school are closely related to the child labor problem, and the subject must necessarily receive attention in a later chapter. At this point, however, the chief reasons may be briefly discussed.

Studies by the Federal Children's Bureau indicate that economic necessity is the most important single cause and that indifference to further education comes second. This indifference is much more marked among the boys than the girls. Many boys also are ambitious to begin work. Since these studies covered those children only who entered some gainful occupation they do not give the completed story as to why children leave school. The facts ascertained for over 2000 children in Cleveland disclosed several additional reasons of importance, among which were illness, physical defects, and change of residence. This group of causes represents no degree of fatalism but challenges the school authorities and the social workers to action.

In spite of our shortcomings wonderful progress has been made in a century as the facts on the following page reveal.[1] Each year a larger proportion of the people are gaining a greater amount of schooling; each year indicates a decrease in the percentage of illiteracy despite the great influx of illiterate South and East Europeans.

[1] Cubberly, E. P., *Public Education in the United States.*

YEAR	PER CAPITA EDUCATION IN LIFE-TIME OF INDIVIDUAL		
	Days	Months and Days	
1800	82	4 m.	2 d.
1840	208	10 m.	8 d.
1860	434	21 m.	14 d.
1870	582	29 m.	2 d.
1880	690	34 m.	10 d.
1890	770	38 m.	10 d.
1900	934	41 m.	14 d.
1910	1080	54 m.	0 d.
1916	1192	59 m.	12 d.

5. The Platoon System or Gary Plan.

Perhaps the most hopeful sign in the whole situation is the sociological attitude of our most progressive school men. "And we may do no injustice to the school situation if we interpret the withdrawal of pupils as an indication that the work of the school does not meet their needs. . . . The withdrawal of the masses of pupils as soon as the law allows may indicate society's judgment that the amount then acquired is sufficient. And it may indicate that society is not satisfied with what is being done and decides that withdrawal is preferable to continuing at school. "The schools are responsible for equipping boys and girls for the social situations in which they are now living and for preparing them for the social emergencies of later life, by developing in them a socialized mental attitude through direct observation and study of a great variety of activities and situations which make up the social life of people. If our public schools are to serve the community as well as the individual, they must be wisely directed upon the basis of intelligent interpretation of social conditions. Interpretation of social conditions is the responsibility of the sociologist. Adjustment of school work to his findings is the responsibility of the educator." [1]

Probably the most significant movement to adapt the schools to the social needs of the pupils is the development of the

[1] Meriam, J. L., *Child Life and the Curriculum*, pp. 41, 87, 106.

Platoon Schools of Gary, Indiana. William A. Wirt, the Superintendent of Schools at Gary, expresses the philosophy and sociology upon which his plan is based in the following words: "It is absolutely necessary for the perpetuity of our race that the relative population of the city be reduced or that the cities be made fit places for the rearing of children. The city home is no longer able profitably to occupy all the time of the child out of school. The city school does not have sufficient time for the general education of the child. On the other hand it is the city streets and alleys, amusement halls and gambling dens, which provide activities of the average for all the children of the cities for over five hours of the day for the 365 days of the year."

"It is this life of the child during the five hours of the day in the streets and alleys that molds his character and educates him in the wrong direction. These five hours a day on the streets must be eliminated from the life of the city child before the cities can be made fit places for the rearing of children.

"The cities must have an institution that will provide constructive activities at work and play as a substitute for the present five hours a day of destructive activities. These wholesome activities for work and play should be provided in connection with the child's study school, where he may spend the day in study, work and play. Not only will the wholesome work and play be a substitute for the demoralizing activities of the streets and alleys, but planned in connection with the study school will motivate and give new vitality to the child's study hours.[1]

The Gary plan provides for the academic studies, and in addition for science under scientific conditions, shop work of various kinds, play or gymnastics, and for auditorium sessions for all grades. Of course all of these things have been attempted or planned for all the pupils of a city school system. The system derives its name "platoon school" from the fact

[1] Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1922, No. 35.

that in order to utilize properly the elaborate plant necessary for such a program, it was necessary to divide the pupils into two platoons, one of which carries on the regular work while the other is utilizing the special apparatus.

The Gary schools are open eight hours a day, although no teacher is required to be there more than six hours and no pupil more than seven hours. The schools are also open for various activities in the evenings, on Saturdays and for two months during the summer.

During the school year 1915-16, the General Education Board made a study of the Gary schools. The conclusions reached in this study were that they had made a distinct contribution to elementary education in administration, curriculum and socialization. The Board found the class work in general slightly below the standard but considered this condition as a result of loose organization and not as an inherent defect in the scheme.

This type of school with its greatly enriched and socialized program has spread from Gary to 45 cities in nineteen states. These cities represent all types, from our largest industrial centers to small town and suburban communities. In Detroit, after a thorough trial in which the school board sought to overcome some of the defects mentioned above, the system has been adopted for all elementary schools and all of the new buildings now under construction are adapted to this type of organization.

Since shops and laboratories cost more to equip and operate than do formal class rooms, there is always the problem of educating the public and the school board before the newer ideas can be put into operation. Despite this fact, so many cities and towns have become interested in the work that the United States Commissioner of Education not only called a conference of persons who were using the system and those who were seriously thinking of adopting it, but has prepared literature dealing with this recent experiment in education in order that people might know about it.

6. Rural Progress.

The development of greater efficiency in the city schools has its counterpart in the progress made in rural districts. Here the problem, however, is quite different. With about 210,000 one-teacher schoolhouses in the country and with thousands of poorly trained rural school teachers, the nation has a serious educational condition to face. Although this book will make no attempt to discuss the problem suggested by this fact, since it is concerned only with the direct social aspects of education, nevertheless the student should know that two significant movements are in progress which will, in the long run, greatly alleviate these conditions.

One of these movements consists of the plan of consolidating school districts, building a central school building, gathering the children of the community through some organized plan of transportation, grading the school and employing fewer but better teachers than before. Consolidated districts have spread throughout the country but have developed particularly in those communities where the transportation problem is not too difficult. In some districts the course leads beyond the eighth grade and high school opportunities are afforded.

Another progressive step has been the development of the county unit plan of school organization. The schools of a county outside of towns of a certain size are administered by a county board instead of being governed by as many local boards or directors as there are individual schools or districts. A considerable degree of uniformity is thereby obtained, the weaker schools are strengthened, unnecessary districts are eliminated and other benefits achieved. In some cases this plan can succeed only if the state will assist in subsidizing the poorer districts. The people of a county are often insufficiently socially-minded to tax themselves to the extent of making ample provision for schools in communities where the local residents are unable to carry this burden themselves.

The county unit plan is in operation with definite limitations, of course, prescribed by each particular state in 19 differ-

ent states. Like the consolidated school district it represents centralization of effort although of an entirely different character.

Better schools are important not only because of the superior curriculum which they will provide and the better trained teachers which will be obtained, but because the schools must in the future enlarge the sphere of their service and deal efficiently with the physical, moral and social aspects of education.

7. Compulsory Education.

We need adequate school equipment; we must have a well-ordered curriculum; we need competent teachers; and we must also insist that children attend school. If difficulties of various kinds interfere, we must as far as possible bring about their elimination. No doubt the first step in securing proper school attendance is a compulsory education law.

In 1852 our first workable compulsory attendance law was passed in Massachusetts; in 1884 the District of Columbia followed; by 1883 nineteen states and territories were accounted for.

Every state now has a law applying either to its larger cities or to the entire state. In a majority of states the law applies to children up to the age of 16, but exceptions of certain kinds are usually made so that the genuine applicability of the law is limited to the fourteenth birthday. Only two states, Ohio and Oklahoma, require full time school attendance until the sixteenth year for all children. A common feature of the laws consists of compulsory attendance between 14 and 16 unless the child is gainfully employed. This provision is seriously abused, owing to the fact that attendance officers are not sufficiently numerous to deal with the older children. Accordingly many boys and girls between these ages are neither at school nor at work. Another weakness consists in the provision that attendance is required for part of the school term only. The enforcement of such a clause is well-nigh impossible.

Although compulsory attendance laws do not solve the prob-

lem of education they are a very important factor. Compulsory attendance does not secure compulsory education; compulsory education does not guarantee efficiency. However, if children are required to attend school, they gain the opportunity of achieving such education as the school actually affords.

Since compulsory education is the proper complement of child labor laws, those restrictions which tend to keep children in school should be required for the entire school year of all children except those for whom exemptions are definitely justified.

Unwise exemptions from the operation of compulsory attendance laws are frequently made. Chief among these is the poverty exemption, according to which children too poor to dress adequately may be excused from attending school—precisely the group of children who can least afford to forego the advantages of an education. A community is most unsocial indeed if it fails to supply such children with the clothes necessary for appearance in school. Poverty exemptions are frequently accompanied by permission to engage in gainful work, and children of tender years are allowed to enter factories and workshops. Further exemptions are made for children who are diseased and a source of contagion, for crippled or deformed or feeble-minded children, and for those who live too far away from the school buildings to attend.

Compulsory attendance laws should contain the following requirements:

(1) School attendance until a specified grade or age have been reached.

(2) Attendance throughout the school year.

(3) Compulsory attendance of children of working age unless regularly employed.

(4) Applicability to all types of elementary schools.

(5) Such restrictions as will supplement the child labor laws.

(6) Application of the laws of the entire state.

(7) Machinery of enforcement.

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CHAPTER XV

THE SCHOOL AS SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

Gradually our educational system must expand its functions to include a larger and larger number of services, some of which seem rather remotely connected with education directly. However the argument for such expansion is practically irrefutable. The public school is not a static institution. It has every reason to be dynamic and the tradition which may hold it back has no right to prevent adjustment of school services to current needs. Adaptation, therefore, is in line with social progress. In the second place the school organization is such that it has the opportunity for contacts with the child and with the home which no other agency possesses. Shall the school ignore these opportunities and insist on the development of other organizations, which would at best be forced to duplicate much of the work which the school is now doing and which would of necessity be required to gain a large part of the information needed to do the work from the officials of the educational system? The program of public welfare like that of business must be organized on the basis of economy and substantial net returns. The schools because of their peculiar relation to the public must necessarily force our educational system to play a much larger rôle in the control and guidance of the child.

This work has begun with the truant officer but cannot end there. The expansion must go on and include the functions of the visiting teacher, the vocational counselor, the guide of predelinquent children and perhaps of other agents. Each of these officials is most effective in her work by the use of the contacts made in or through the school as the point of departure. De-

partments of Compulsory Education must expand into service departments with a vision of the greater need and the greater responsibility.

1. The Attendance Officer.

The field of compulsory attendance leaves much to be desired. The laws are not yet adequate to meet the need and the laws when adequate are not always utilized to the fullest extent. The enforcement of compulsory education laws constitutes a serious problem. In the first place, the number of attendance or truancy officers has been totally insufficient. In the rural districts and small towns there is often no provision whatsoever for law enforcement, and unless public opinion condemns the practice, non-attendance becomes altogether too frequent. Again, truant officers are often incompetent, many times because they are not socially trained, while truancy is often a mere symptom of family maladjustments and cannot be cured by police activity. In such cases constructive work with the family is necessary.

In the large cities socially trained attendance officers should be obtained and in the smaller communities the system can also be improved. Competent officials with a vision of practically perfect school attendance will point the way to improvements in school conditions and curriculum; to a removal of the devastating influences in the home and of the menace of ill health. They will unearth the environmental factors that compete with the school for the interest and attention of the child and set in motion the program of effort intended to improve the opportunities of child life.

Formerly the function of the attendance officer was largely law enforcement. Appreciation of the causes of truancy has registered a change in the attitude of many attendance officers. Many, however, are still regarded as a sort of police for school children.

The lack of standards in attendance department work is partly indicated by the figures showing the differences among cities in the proportion of attendance officers.

ATTENDANCE OFFICERS IN SELECTED AMERICAN CITIES, 1922[1]

CITY	SCHOOL POPULATION	NO. OFFICERS
Atlanta, Ga.	45,000	1
Birmingham, Ala.	34,070	3
Chicago, Ill.	586,000	83
Cleveland, Ohio	160,000	35
Duluth, Minn.	20,000	1
Jersey City, N. J.	65,000	21
Memphis, Tenn.	30,000	8
Newark, N. J.	93,000	29
Philadelphia, Pa.	335,000	84
Springfield, Mass.	24,000	7
St. Louis, Mo.	160,000	21
Trenton, N. J.	18,000	11

In the preceding chapter we noticed the proportion of children who do not attend school. Many of these need the guidance and direction of the attendance officer. There is also a marked discrepancy between enrollment and actual attendance even in the large cities where the law is said to be well-enforced. Why are children out of school? The school authorities should know or find out why. Part of this problem remains the distinct function of the attendance officer. In a number of cities the social treatment of non-attending children has made generous progress and the proportion of cases referred to the attendance department that were finally brought into the juvenile court has been radically reduced. Among these cities are Seattle, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and St. Louis. The truant officer must mature into a definitely recognized social worker capable of dealing with the problems of family adjustment and desirous of coöperation with the social agencies of a community. Among the outstanding needs of the attendance departments at this time are—more officials, socially trained workers, greater attention to irregular attendance and its causes and a broader vision of the range of preventive work.

The organization of an efficient system presents many difficulties. In the larger cities the duplication of officials engaged

[1] Compiled by Austin Finley, Memphis, Tenn.

in work that greatly overlaps must be eliminated and a well-coördinated plan of service substituted. Even then a certain amount of overlapping will remain: for example in the case of the visiting school nurse and the official who studies irregular attendance. However, the demand for an extension of the functions of our boards of education will bear fruit in proportion to the growing capacity for an economical administration of the duties of the various groups of officials concerned with special aspects of the guidance of the child life in a community.

The smaller towns may be forced to merge the functions of attendance officer with that of other officials in the body of a single worker. Although this plan involves minor difficulties it furnishes the only means of realizing the larger ideal. Furthermore the extreme specialization of function and service demanded at one time by many social workers has been abandoned for the saner view that on account of the essential similarity of many social service problems reasonable success can be attained by an individual even though she labor in a number of allied fields. More coercive yet is the practical impossibility of developing any other plan.

The counties and rural communities can be served by an official with county-wide duties. Usually the superintendent of the schools appoints the attendance officer, but only meager success has been attained under this system. The plan of greater promise consists of the appointment of a county superintendent of public welfare whose duties will include the enforcement of the compulsory education law and the improvement of school attendance. This plan is in its incipient stages in a number of states, particularly North Carolina and Missouri. Since the concentration of welfare problems into as few hands as possible is in harmony with efficiency and economy, this plan is certain to witness considerable development.

2. The Visiting Teacher.

The removal of the backward children from the classes composed largely of normal children has brought to light another problem now being attacked—the problem of the child

who fails to make normal progress, though without marked physical or mental handicaps. The class-room teacher can note the cases where there are adverse home conditions affecting the work of some of the children in the class, but has neither the time nor the training to follow such cases outside the confines of the school to attempt to correct such maladjustments.

The problem is found in every school, and it is not surprising to learn that its solution was being attempted independently in three places as early as the school year 1906-1907. Nor is it surprising that in two of these communities, New York and Boston, the impetus should have come from the social workers, since the problem rests upon linking the school environment of five hours a day with the environment of the remaining nineteen hours.

In New York the residents of two settlements, seeking aid from the schools in cases of problems involving children of school age, found that they could give aid to the school. Shortly thereafter the work of studying the problem—children in their full environment—was taken over by a committee of the Public Education Association and maintained until the department of education was convinced of its value and took over an ever-increasing share of the burden of support. In Boston the impetus came from a group of public-spirited citizens; while in Hartford, Connecticut, the suggestion came from the director of the psychological laboratory. The title given to the person doing this work of adjusting the problems of the school child in and out of school was that of "Visiting Teacher."

Since the word "teacher" implies giving instruction, the term "visiting teacher" is a misnomer. A brief study of the functions and of the methods and cases of these workers will show that they are school social workers, specializing in cases arising in the schools, for which the remedy must be found in the correction of conditions in the home or in the neighborhood rather than in the school.

The functions of the visiting teacher are best expressed in the words of the survey made in 1921 by the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors, which states that "a summary of their functions would comprise: [1]

(1) Study of the individual unadjusted child and his problem.

(2) Interpretation of:

(a) School and parents to one another.

(b) Child and parents to one another.

(c) Child and school to one another.

(3) Securing coöperation of parents, school and community in the interests of special children and of increased educational facilities for all children.

(4) Adjustment of the child's difficulties whether the cause be found in the home, school or neighborhood.

(5) Socialization of the school's point of view.

This is the statement of a well defined social program.

The first step of the visiting teacher after receiving a case is to make a trip to the child's home in order to ascertain the real cause of the trouble. Sometimes the cause that leads to the reporting of the case is more apparent than real. "Deficiency in lessons" is a result, the causes of which vary from "after-school work, excessive housework, exhausting 'finishing' or other factory home work; lack of time for recreation, rest and study; lack of parental control, leading to late hours and bad companionship; indifference of child or parent toward school progress, or ignorance of child's class standing; no place to study; poor nutrition; unhygienic living; neurotic disorders"; to "nervousness caused or aggravated by financial difficulties or domestic quarrels." [2]

The solution will vary with the cause. Arousing parental interest is sometimes all that is needed. Persuading a father to allow his eldest daughter time for recreation and study in-

[1] Report, p. 60.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

stead of requiring all of her time in assistance in the shop; inducing a proud mother to give her bright son time for play and for preparation of his school lessons in place of requiring two-and-a-half hours a day on Hebrew with two hours' practice on the violin;—such steps meet the problem of preventing retardation where it is unnecessary. A physical and mental examination will sometimes disclose the source of the difficulty and make its removal easy; as in the case of a boy whose improvement dated from the discovery of and correction of a defect in vision with its resultant poor powers of visualization and recall. Mental examination at times reveals the surprising fact that the trouble-maker in the 4A class needed the stimulus of the mental competition of 5A work.

Adverse home conditions may be remedied by educating mothers to the fact that theirs is the responsibility for regular habits on the part of the children and for their appearance. Furthermore the function of interpreting the child and parents to one another is an important consideration. Persuading a mother to allow a boy to join the Scouts and to draw books from the library with the assistance of the class teacher in advising a choice of books was all that was necessary in one case to change a "bad" boy to a good one.

It is in the work with homes that the visiting teacher finds it necessary to call upon social agencies to help meet the problem. A case of a young lad whose aid is required for the support of himself and mother can be met by calling in a relief organization. Sometimes the trouble lies deeper, as it did in the case of a girl and her little sister, who were reported as being "jumpy," scared, and secretive. Investigation revealed a young mother who had become insane and a young father turning to drink to forget. In this case other agencies were enlisted, the mother sent to an institution for treatment, and the children placed out until a chance could be given for restoring the family life.

Problems of misconduct are met by solutions varying from medical and psychiatric examinations to providing clubs for

the stimulation of healthy contacts. In one case an investigation led to the imprisonment of a man for teaching immoral practices to young girls.

Such cases as these illustrate some of the classes of problems discovered and the types of treatment undertaken by the visiting teacher. A variety of important measures are used to meet these conditions. Perhaps the most important is "personal influence," which is exerted in various ways, notably through securing the coöperation of parent and stimulating the child's interest. "Information brought to teacher" results in some cases in securing help with lessons. Obtaining the cooperation of social agencies, physical examination, securing financial relief and mental examinations represent methods indicated in the cases referred to above. Other methods that suggest clearly the means used and the end gained are: change of interest, change of environment, recreation, recommendation for special class, demotion, promotion, change of class or school (to special, trade, and other schools), referring to the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.[1]

The foregoing list of means and suggested cases shows clearly the functions that the visiting teachers are attempting to fulfill. The steady increase in the number of cities making use of the plan (from the three of 1906 to twenty-eight in 1921 and fifty in 1923) is an indication that the teachers are meeting a need that is recognized. It is the more striking when it is remembered that those teachers whose function is to carry instruction to those unable to go to the schools for it (such as the Home Teachers of California) are not included.

The listing of the problems that cause the reporting of a case to the visiting teacher, such as "irregularity of attendance," "subnormality," "neglect," indicate a further problem,—that of the place of the visiting teacher in the school system and her relation to the other special departments. With reference to the Attendance Department, the Division of Tests and Measurements, and the Department of Child Hygiene where

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51, 52.

such organizations exist as separate divisions, the relation of the visiting teacher may be called coöperative, since there is no overlapping when each division is specialized as to function. Any case coming to one division when it belongs to another is referred to the proper section. The distinction between the work of the visiting teacher and that of the vocational counselor cannot be so easily ascertained; and in the very nature of the problem faced by the visiting teacher, some vocational work must be done by her. This probably accounts for the fact that in those cities where there is no vocational counselor the visiting teacher takes over that function, and that in others,—Chicago and Minneapolis,—the visiting teacher is listed as belonging to that department. Perhaps the outstanding differences in function may be stated as follows: The psychiatric worker deals with the mentally abnormal, the department of hygiene with the physically abnormal and the visiting teacher with the socially abnormal.

As the method of supervision differs, so does the manner of assignment. One plan is to assign the teacher to the entire city. The other is to assign a visiting teacher to a given neighborhood or to a given school. The latter plan is preferable as it offers the visiting teacher a better chance to become identified with a definite neighborhood and therefore to do better work.

3. The Vocational Counselor.

The vocational counselor will function as the contact maker between the child and the industrial, commercial, or professional world. To his aid must come the results of mental and physical tests (which are valuable at least in this general way,—that a child showing low-grade intelligence on a standard test should not be encouraged to study for professional work) and the data of a cumulative record card with its revelations of interests and tendencies to reinforce the information gleaned from tests. But his problem starts in many cases with the home; the problem, that of convincing parents of the financial value of as high an education as can be given

profitably to the child member of that home. The child's cumulative record and tests may indicate that he should be given professional training, if possible, or that he should be taught a trade if he is to achieve his maximum efficiency as a member of society; but the child and his parents must be so influenced as to want that proper type of training.

Under ideal conditions the vocational counselor, then, must deal with the child at the time when a decision is necessary as to the kind of training to be pursued. But he must also come in at that critical time when the child leaves the school world for the world of work. It is not enough that the counselor with his broad view of the world of affairs advise the child as to the line of work for which to prepare and that he supervise the progress of the child and see to it that the courses given are such as to fit the child for what is to come; he must actually aid the child in getting into the field of work chosen. Nor will the ideal counselor's value cease then; for he will always be ready to advise the child and to note progress on the job and to aid in preparation for the next position higher.

4. Work with Pre-Delinquent Children.

The responsibility of the school system is not fully covered by the efforts of the above mentioned workers. According to the new theory it is the duty of the school to educate the bad boy as well as the good one, but they should not be educated together. The semi-delinquent children form a special group who need particular attention and who must be trained in special classes; otherwise they will hamper the progress of normal children. Furthermore by receiving special care they may be saved from the juvenile court, and therefore the special day school for incorrigible children has arisen. This school varies its curriculum somewhat from the normal and emphasizes manual training and handicraft work in order to hold the interest of the child and keep him busy.

New York City has established a number of such disciplinary schools, to which children are sent for truancy, theft, insubordination, and immorality. The oldest of these schools

claimed 55 per cent of cures in seven years. Chicago has several divisions in its regular schools for truants and violators of rules who are not sufficiently grave offenders to be sent to the parental school. When the school authorities find it impossible to retain a child in the regular classes, parents are notified and directed to send the child to the truant school.

The first special school of this class in the United States was established in Philadelphia in 1898, but the city now segregates disciplinary cases in special classes, of which it had 40 in 1921. The experience here has also demonstrated that a close relation exists between truant and backward children. Most large cities have opened disciplinary classes, usually with good effects; truancy and insubordination have been greatly reduced and a better spirit has developed among the large body of pupils. Transferal to these classes depends on the order of the principal or school superintendent, although in some cities certain juvenile court children also attend on recommendation of the probation officers.

This work indicates a growing appreciation of the fact that to accomplish fully the schools' purpose of preparing good citizens, preventive work is also necessary. Since 1912 there has been a growing feeling that much of the work for preventing juvenile delinquency should be done through the schools. The juvenile courts and probation officers have not met the problem of preventing delinquency. In an effort to meet it, the probation officers have been doing more and more unofficial handling of cases outside of court. This "unofficial probation" is a step in advance of the first method of putting all cases through the court, with its often unhappy effect upon the child. But there remains a higher and inevitable step,—that of handling these cases through the educational system. It is in the schools that abnormalities and departures from normal conduct can be perceived most readily; and there is no other agency in a position to study and deal with all children. This statement does not imply that the juvenile courts and probation officers are not to be used. It simply means that they will be left free

to deal with the problems of actual delinquency and will no longer be forced to scatter their energies.

This field has already been entered in varying degrees by educational systems. In Newark, New Jersey, there is an informal court in the city hall where the chief attendance officer sits once a week as judge. Truants and parents are brought before him, and he always attempts to deal with the situation without court action. An institution is maintained to which boys may be referred by the attendance department without being committed by the juvenile court. In Minneapolis the attendance department is equipped with trained social workers. It controls matters of attendance, of vocational guidance and the functions of visiting teachers. It should be able to handle the milder behavior cases without referring them to the court.

In Milwaukee the attendance or truancy department refers to the juvenile court only cases in which the parents cannot or will not coöperate in remedying the condition responsible for delinquency. A child who has committed some misdemeanor is brought with the parents to the office of the supervisor of attendance. There the case is thoroughly discussed with the child and parents. When the officers feel that the parents are able and willing to correct the child, they turn the child back to them and thus avoid a court record against the youngster. Mr. Pestalozzi, Supervisor of the Attendance Department, says that the school should guide the child through the school years and protect it against a court record. This can be done, he says, by referring all minor child delinquencies to the school authorities instead of to the juvenile court.

The tendency to place increasing responsibility for the prevention of juvenile delinquency upon the educational system is clearly indicated in the Report by the Juvenile Courts' Committee, 1922, to the National Probation Association, on the Unofficial Treatment of Pre-Delinquent Children. The Report points out that the doing of excellent service to children

by excellent social workers does not prove that the agency to which the workers are attached at the time is, in the long run, the agency upon which the responsibility for the particular children affected should fall. Unofficial probation may continue serviceable for many years to come, but it may prove possible, and welcome, to turn over an increasing amount of the actual work now in this category, to visiting teachers, school clinics and other school departments equally or better equipped, leaving for probation officers the more difficult official cases. The assumption by the educational system of responsibility for the study and treatment of pre-delinquents through special equipment and personnel will lead to the readjustment of many cases at an early stage of errancy and to a great saving of human misery and social effort.

The realization of the schools that their broader purpose of training for a full citizenship cannot be accomplished without the building up of contacts with the community is shown in the number of workers called in to aid the classroom teacher. The truant officers and attendance department, school nurses and doctors, the division of tests and measurements, the vocational counselors, the coördinators between the schools and the commercial world and between the schools and the industrial world, and the visiting teachers are all manifestations of this realization. The next step is the creation of a recognized department of outside contacts, to combine all these departments under one head and that head will need to be both an educator and practical sociologist, with a ranking suitable to the magnitude of his undertaking.

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CHAPTER XVI

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

1. The Adaptation of Education.

The purpose of education should be to fit the child for life. He must be taught to adapt himself to the conditions of his environment, to enjoy the higher pleasures, and to take his rightful place in society. It is obvious at once that no school can give the child a complete education, and that this is obtained slowly, if at all, through the lessons learned from activity in the world as well as through those taught in the classroom. The predominant interests of society vary from time to time, therefore the most important elements in education will also vary. Literary education formerly received a very proper emphasis, and met popular needs quite effectually. It is still a most necessary form of training preparatory to successful citizenship, but it is now generally admitted that literary education alone is inadequate, since it does not train the hand, although the vast majority of all persons become manual laborers. Both brain and hand should be educated, each in proportion to the demands of later life. Consequently certain forms of industrial education must be provided in order to fit children for success in later life.

The most successful education not only affords the proper variety of training for the child but also sustains his interest until the essentials have been gained. In an industrial era book learning is so plainly inadequate that many practical-minded children lose interest in their work and drop out of school. One of two possible consequences may then occur; the child may become a truant and eventually a delinquent, or he may enter some gainful occupation and swell the ranks

of child laborers. It is of utmost importance for our educational authorities to consider this problem and to work out a solution. If it cannot be done directly through the public schools, private philanthropy must be called on for assistance.

2. The Untrained Child in Industry.

Thousands of children enter industry without having obtained any industrial education, sometimes without even finishing their primary education. No children who drop out of school at the end of the fifth or sixth grades can hope to have acquired direct training for any occupation which they may enter; the seventh and eighth grade children may acquire a little manual dexterity. The consequence of the early exodus from school is an army of untrained workers who usually enter the first available occupation. This is almost uniformly some undesirable trade that affords but little compensation. It has been estimated that about 90 per cent of the working children enter unskilled occupations; about 7 per cent skilled occupations of a low grade; perhaps 3 per cent enter high grade occupations which promise a future. About 3 per cent, then, of the working children begin at once to prepare for a trade, but it frequently happens that instead of being taught a trade, the child apprentice is merely used as a handy boy, and learns his trade, if at all, by absorption. No special effort is made to instruct him, and unless he is ambitious and aggressive, he will be retarded in his efforts to acquire definite trade knowledge.

The great majority of children who leave the public school for gainful occupations necessarily lack in stability of mind and persistence in work. They, therefore, have no definite aims, have no particular trade in view, are willing to experiment with many forms of occupation, and, being without proper guidance, are not taught the needs of earnest concentration of energy. As a result, they quickly drift from one occupation to another, and since these occupations are usually very different, the experience of the child has no cumulative value.

Our system of child care which allows children who are

almost illiterate to leave the schools and to enter industry is sadly at fault. A compulsory education law which applies only to persons below a certain age is better than no law at all, but at the same time it establishes artificial and illogical boundary lines. If at 14 the boy is not prepared for life, but is mentally and physically capable of adequate preparation, the state is not justified in allowing him to waste several years of time in unskilled occupations, but should insist on his continuing in school until he has acquired the necessary preparation. The fixing of arbitrary ages for compulsory education overlooks the entire problem of industrial efficiency, and emphasizes time instead of accomplishment. Child labor laws should so supplement our educational requirements as to prevent the employment of all children not properly trained in the schools.

3. Vocational Guidance.

In an effort to meet the problem of the untrained child entering industry, a Vocation Bureau was established in Boston in 1908 for the purpose of developing a form of work which has been called vocational guidance. The aims of the bureau are as follows:

(1) To study the waste attending the passing of untrained children into industry.

(2) To assist in the choice of, and preparation for, a life work.

(3) To develop a plan of coöperation between schools and occupations.

(4) To publish material relating to the requirements and possibilities of various occupations.

(5) To train individuals for vocational guidance service.

(6) To act as a bureau of information.

(7) One of the most important of the bureau's activities has been the publication of short pamphlets on particular occupations such as those of the machinist, the baker, the grocer, etc. A typical pamphlet deals with the divisions of a trade, its handicaps, its possibilities, the compensation paid, the oppor-

tunities in the trade, the conditions of apprenticeship, and related questions that make it possible to decide more wisely in the choice of an occupation. The bureau did not act as an employment bureau.

Through the influence of the bureau the school authorities in 1910 appointed a number of teachers to act as vocational counselors, and in 1913 a department was established to carry on this work. In other parts of the country interested workers were experimenting on the same problem, and in 1913 a meeting held in Grand Rapids was attended by interested persons from Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Boston, Hartford, Pittsburgh, and other places, representing chiefly educational and social organizations. "It was in recognition of the threefold nature of this demand, economic, educational, and social, that the organization of the new association (the National Vocational Guidance Association) was recommended. It was felt that it could help materially in coördinating the results, if not the efforts, of chambers of commerce and employers' associations, of educational systems, and of charitable or philanthropic societies in the important project of securing more adequate vocational guidance and supervision of the youth of the land." [1]

The statement that "Vocational guidance should be a continuous process designed to help the individual to choose, to plan his preparation for, to enter upon, and to make progress in an occupation," [2] with its implications, explains the field that the work must cover.

Efforts to help the individual choose his occupation and to plan his preparation therefor were the first steps attempted and the most easily developed. Under this phase of the work falls advice as to curriculum and electives within the curriculum, as well as information about occupations. This work was especially valuable for those who were to continue their education in institutions of higher learning.

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education 1914, Bulletin 19.
[2] U. S. Bureau of Education 1918, Bulletin 19.

But the carrying out of the idea of vocational guidance as expressed above implies more. The additional steps have been worked out in terms of "employment supervision" and of "placement." Employment supervision is most effectively done through compulsory attendance at the continuation schools for those children who leave the schools as soon as they have reached the age limit required by law, since "the school authorities are in a position to control the changes (of jobs) to some extent, to advise against undue and unnecessary 'job hoboism,' and to counsel the individual whenever a change is made. The education that these young people get from their daily toil is greatly enhanced when the school authorities assume the responsibility of guiding and counseling them." [1]

Placement, which means the keeping of full and complete records as well as the bringing of child and job together, serves as a source of information that will make possible intelligent modifications of the methods and curricula of the schools. Leavitt says, "special attention is given to placement, not because it puts us in possession of a vast amount of information which can be gained in no other way and which is absolutely essential if we are to give service,"—"service to the young people in the selection of school programs and in entering into occupational life; service to the employers who receive our school product, at first or at second hand; service to the schools, which, through this work, are kept sensitive to the needs of the local community." [2] Placement work is especially valuable in connection with the groups of children who go past the sixth grade in the schools but do not get into the higher institutions of learning.

The ideal vocational guidance program recommended in the report of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education is as follows: [3]

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education 1918, Bulletin 19, p. 13.
[2] "Vocational Education in Pittsburgh," *Manual Training Magazine*, June, 1921.
[3] U. S. Bureau of Education 1918, Bulletin 19, p. 16.

(1) Survey of the world's work.
(2) Studying and testing pupils' possibilities.
(3) Guidance in choice and rechoice of vocation.
(4) Guidance with reference to preparation for vocation.
(5) Guidance in entering upon work; that is, "placement."
(6) Guidance in employment; that is, "employment supervision."
(7) Progressive modification of school practices.
(8) Progressive modification of economic conditions.

To carry out such a program will require close coöperation with agencies outside the schools,—with employers and employers' associations (5-6); with the experimental psychologists, in the laboratory or in the personnel office (2); with social and other governmental agencies (8). The workers necessary to establish these needed contacts are considered in the chapter dealing with the establishment of a department of outside contacts.

The worker most closely identified with vocational guidance will be the vocational counselor, assigned to each of the junior and senior high schools. Upon his shoulders will fall the responsibility for the heavy burdens of helping the child to choose and prepare for a life's work. Therefore "the ideal vocational counselor will be something of a psychologist, but he will also be a sociologist, an economist, and, most of all, an educator in the best modern sense of the word." [1]

4. Industrial Training.

A survey of the world's work with special reference to the local industrial conditions in which most of the children will sooner or later find themselves, is being attempted in many parts of the country for the eighth or ninth grades. How far this alone functions in directing the child's career is not known, but its use as the first step is spreading.

The studying and testing of pupils' possibilities is a form of guidance which requires a great deal of time, as it does not lend itself to class manipulation. School boards also are very re-

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education 1918, Bulletin 19, p. 27.

luctant to appropriate money for this type of work, but, despite this handicap, there has grown up in the last few years a large number of tests to determine general mental ability, special aptitudes and educational attainment. As these become more accurate they will be accorded general use among both the schools and the employment departments of corporations. In some places the schools are establishing pre-vocational or opportunity classes where the pupils are permitted to try out various types of work, staying just long enough at each one to enable the teacher to judge the individual's aptitude.

With all of this information at hand there is still a big question as to what type of training the child should obtain to make him most effective in the industrial world. Suppose the boy is to go into mechanical work in the machinery line. Shall he be told to take a three-year course in general machine shop practice in a regular trade school? Or should he be given a short course in one or two simple, but highly specialized, operations? Or should an employer be asked to give him a half-day job while he attends school during the rest of the day? Or should he be sent to an employer who still attempts to teach apprentices?

The apprenticeship system, in all but a few trades, is obsolete and modern conditions do not tend toward its revival. In the first place a boy demands more wages than he is worth if he is to have an extensive course of training. Again the employer is not in the shop himself and the journeymen are not always willing to instruct a beginner. Furthermore the highly specialized operations of modern production do not require thoroughly trained mechanics. Some corporations maintain schools in which they teach their juvenile workers the various parts of the trade.[1] This system is most common in the railroad shops and some of the larger machine-tool manufacturing plants. In these schools only the brighter and more ambitious boys are given an opportunity to attend.

Part-time education has been carried on successfully in cer-

[1] Beatty, *Corporation Schools*.

tain communities, notably Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. This type of work must be very carefully planned so that there may be no economic loss, as the employer's coöperation must be gained. Some labor unions object to this form of education because they claim that it is training two boys for each available job.

The regular full-time trade school attempts to give a complete basic training in the trade. It deals to some extent with practice but more largely with the principles and with the science and mathematics of the trade. This could be made to function immediately but the boy lacks the practical experience that will make the work real. The boy has the training of a master mechanic but will have to go to work as an operator. This education would have meant much more to him if he had acquired it during the first ten years of his trade life.

The most popular form of trade training and apparently the most effective is the short unit course. In such a course enough of the trade is taught to enable the student to take a job as an operative, and then if he has ambition and perseverance he can take other short unit courses at evening schools or day schools as his increasing experience demands them. The short unit course has the advantage of meeting an immediate need, of being entirely within the comprehension of the student, of advancing the student in his daily work and of not requiring a long basic training for a tentatively chosen vocation which might have to be repudiated later. The labor unions do not oppose this type of training because it is helping a man within the trade to improve his condition and does not affect the labor supply. It also lends itself to the various kinds of factory work where no real handicraft is involved as well as to the mechanical trade school.

Some years ago the belief arose among a group of people that the trade school was a very necessary link in the chain of industrial education. Private schools such as the Williamson Free Trade School near Philadelphia, the Wilmerding

School of Industrial Arts in San Francisco and the Ranken Trade School in St. Louis were established. Pressure was brought to bear upon the boards of education and many public trade schools were established. A significant example is the Milwaukee trade school which furnishes a two years' course, the trades taught being pattern making, tool making, carpentry, woodworking, plumbing, gas fitting, and the machinist's trade. On the other hand, the public trade school in Philadelphia offers a three years' course with some additional lines of work. A number of trade schools operate three separate departments,—a day school, an evening school, and a coöperative or continuation school.

Evening trade schools have met with less resistance than have the day schools, and have in numerous cases been established by boards of education. The trade training offered, however, usually represents only one phase of the work done in the public evening schools. Young workers are frequently compelled to work during the day and have little time for study except at night. The evening trade schools therefore minister to this particular need best, although it is usually a considerable hardship to work during the day and study in the evening, especially for growing children. For all children under 16 or 17 years of age day instruction should be made compulsory on the part-time plan, but for the older people the evening school may very properly be supplied.

Hundreds of commercial schools have arisen to teach boys and girls some particular trade or occupation, such as stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, plumbing, sewing and millinery. These institutions frequently have no minimum entrance requirements, and many of their graduates are therefore very poorly equipped for their work. Usually the course of instruction is too short, and the required literary training too inadequate. Schools operated for profit cannot have the best ideals and should be displaced by public or private endowed schools. Education cannot be commercialized, but must be definitely socialized in order to insure the best variety of

training for all. The number of schools "in which trades are taught," many of which are, of course, not distinctively trade schools, may be counted in hundreds, and some may be found in nearly every state. Nevertheless a long period of training must be reserved for the exceptional few and trade schools limiting their work to two or three year courses do not meet general industrial conditions but many will gradually be transformed into technical schools.

A very practical form of industrial training is that afforded by the continuation school. It was imported from abroad and seems to meet a distinct need here. In a typical continuation school the pupils receive instruction for only a few hours each week, the remainder of the time being spent in actual work in some industrial establishment. The aim of the school is to coördinate the training received in the shop with theoretical subject matter, a knowledge of which is necessary for the development of efficient workmen. These schools usually operate during the daytime, and the pupils attend without deduction of pay. The actual shop work under the direction of foremen and shop managers serves as most valuable laboratory work which carries with it nothing artificial in character.

Perhaps the work in Boston will properly illustrate the methods of education employed. Qualified children between 14 and 16 are admitted and if employed they attend twice a week for two hours per meeting, but if unemployed they are required to attend 20 hours a week. The subjects taught in the school are as follows:

For boys: machine-shop work, wood working, sheet-metal working, printing, mechanical drawing, electricity, bookkeeping, typewriting, office practice, salesmanship, and general academic work, including English, civics and hygiene.

For girls: dressmaking, millinery, power machine work, cooking, home making, bookkeeping, typewriting, office practice, and general academic work.

The turnover is very rapid owing to the automatic discharge

of pupils reaching the age of 16. In 1922 the number of discharges totaled 3783.

There is no uniformity among continuation schools and there are almost as many different kinds as there are schools since the law usually provides that the school board may continue civic and moral education as well as provide such vocational education as the local authorities may see fit. Practically all of the laws require four or eight hours a week sometime between 8 A. M. and 5 P. M., that is, they require the time to come out of the working time of the child without deduction of pay.

There seems to be a tendency to minimize vocational training in the continuation school program. Many educators believe that the few hours a week given to this work should also be used in furthering the child's civic education, in helping him make the proper adjustments to his new environment, and in assisting the misplaced child to a job more suited to his abilities.

5. Evolution of Industrial Education.

The first steps in industrial training were taken by private individuals who established and endowed trade and technical schools. A number of these schools, such as the school in Milwaukee, and the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, have been made a part of the system of public instruction. Many cities have established such schools, often, however, with agreeable state aid.

By 1911 a number of states had made provision for some state aid to vocational schools, and before the advent of federal aid several states, notably Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, had enacted laws providing for a system of continuation schools and making attendance compulsory.

The greatest incentive to vocational education given to this country was provided by the Smith-Hughes Bill passed by Congress and approved by the President in 1917. This law provides for federal aid to those states introducing and maintaining agricultural, home-making and industrial education for

pupils of secondary rating and for extension courses for those already in the industries. It has given an unprecedented stimulus to all forms of vocational education. All of the states accepted the proposition and now offer courses in vocational subjects. As a consequence the annual grant by the federal government to the states may aggregate $7,000,000. Not only did the federal law precipitate acceptance of an advanced program, but it also stimulated the states to enact compulsory part-time or continuation school laws. In 1922, 21 states had passed such legislation. An illustrative law is that of Missouri which requires working children under 16 to attend continuation classes whether they have finished the eighth grade or not and children under 18 to attend if they have not completed the elementary school branches.

The day of separate state legislation in respect to vocational education has practically passed. The principle of federal aid seems well established and the states will gradually dovetail their plans into those of the federal government.

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CHAPTER XVII

MORAL AND SEX EDUCATION

The subject of sex education is one of fundamental importance and is rapidly pressing forward for consideration. The awful results of sex irregularity, about which we are constantly learning, force attention to the problem. The cry for sex education is an outcome of the search for preventive methods, and depends upon the realization of the natural consequences of the present failure to cope successfully with the problem of illicit sexual indulgence.

1. Causes of Sex Irregularities.

The first step in a program of sex education is an understanding of the causes of illicit sex relations, and the results that follow. Without doubt ignorance is an important cause, and many boys and girls are contaminated for this reason. Illustrations continually occur of young girls who were apparently ignorant of the probable results of sex irregularity and who become diseased or pregnant through their illicit relations with men. In many communities bad men and boys can be found who will prey upon the ignorance of young girls; on the other hand, the immoral girl frequently demoralizes an entire company of boys, who are seduced largely through ignorance. A large proportion of the school girls who become pregnant yield because they are ignorant of the probable consequences of their missteps. There is something incongruous about an educational system that provides a girl with a ready knowledge of Latin, Geometry, and Ancient History, and denies her instruction about her own physical possibilities that will protect her against dishonor and disease.

It is difficult to believe that very many children are alto-

gether ignorant of the impropriety of sex irregularities, even though they may know nothing of the consequences. There are but few children who have not been taught the rudiments of modesty, consequently it is clear that illicit sex relations among such children must represent a low standard of morals and a false sense of modesty. Parents have probably exhibited low standards of morals in the presence of their children and have either failed to teach higher standards or have deliberately allowed their children to accept low ideals. In a sense, children are not responsible for their standards, and parents, not children, must be blamed when moral standards are low.

The absence of confidential relations between parents and children on sex matters often renders the children helpless in times of moral danger. Parents do not always advise girls to compel respect from boys and young men, and girls shrink from discussing such subjects with their mothers; consequently familiarities are permitted, which later lead to positive immorality. With the approach of puberty comes sex passion, and neither the boy nor the girl fully understands its significance; both are prompted by curiosity, and both may become its victims.

Coupled with ignorance and low standards we find weak minds and weak wills. Young girls are frequently ensnared by men because they do not have sufficient will power to resist evil. As will be shown in the study of juvenile delinquency, a close connection exists between low mentality and low morality; that is, many girls do not know how to protect themselves or are too weak-willed to do so, and thereby lose their virtue.

It is clear that many boys deliberately indulge in wrongdoing and know that they are engaging in immoral practices. They have been influenced by evil associations and have come to consider illicit sex relations as an accepted form of pleasure. They therefore seduce young girls, specially those belonging to some lower social stratum, who are less resistant to boys or men supposed to come from a higher class. In addition the older boys begin to frequent houses of ill-fame.

The causes of wrong sex relations among adults are practically the causes of prostitution, and include lack of proper moral and ethical instruction, low wages, double standards of morals, immoral associations, the lust of men, greed, unwholesome amusements, and overcrowding.

Without question the prevalent conditions in respect to immorality are partly due to the effect of first sex impressions. The study by Dr. Exner of the sex experience in boyhood of 948 college men reveals a number of important conclusions. In the first place he discovered that a large majority of the boys received their first impressions from undesirable and improper sources. The percentage for these college men was 91.5—nine out of every ten. These sources have been characterized as an "underground educational system." They are fed by ignorant and foul-mouthed men and boys; by lurid advertisements and pictures, and by the half-truths uttered by persons who know better, but lack capacity to talk constructively. Second, the average age of first sex impression was 9.6 years, but a larger number received information at 10 and 11 than at any other age and there were practically none over 15 without sex impressions. Third, the ideas received from unwholesome sources often led to some form of sexual practice and usually between the ages of 12 and 15 years. They resulted in debasing thoughts, in a wrong attitude toward girls and greatly promoted vulgarity. The percentage of college men who claimed that the effects were unfavorable was 79; only one-fifth believed that they were not injured thereby.

The handicap from which boys suffer is well illustrated by the fact that these men received instruction from wholesome sources at the average age of 15.6 years—exactly six years after their first impressions were obtained. Meanwhile their minds were being led astray by the unsound instruction on which they had relied. The facts for these college men are probably more favorable than those for boys at large. Is it any wonder that the sex life of men yields such a harvest of sorrows and woes!

What is true of boys is measurably true of girls. However, the study of 1000 married women by the Bureau of Social Hygiene discloses a more favorable situation. Nevertheless a large proportion of the women did not enjoy the benefits of early and wholesome sex instruction, while 43.8 per cent claimed they were inadequately instructed concerning problems of marriage. About one-fourth had engaged in some form of sex practice.

2. Results of Illicit Relations.

Naturally it is impossible to secure adequate data concerning the effects of sex irregularities, but many estimates have been made. In the first place about 7 per cent of all blind minors owe their blindness to ophthalmia neonatorum, which is an affection resulting from the venereal diseases. Formerly from one-fourth to one-third of the blind in our state schools became blind from this disease. The decline is due not to less immorality but to the various state laws requiring prophylactic care of babies' eyes.

Sex immorality leads to the venereal diseases. The number suffering therefrom in this country is astounding although no accurate count can be made. The army statistics show that among the second million of drafted men the recognized cases of social disease numbered 5.6 per cent of the army force. It is claimed that the actual number of men afflicted was much larger and that careful laboratory tests would have revealed this discrepancy.[1] In making estimates for the entire population, the prevalence among men should be computed as three times that among women, and the cases occurring in the age period 20-30 years as about one-half of the total.

Gonorrhœa is the most prevalent of the venereal diseases and furnishes about three-fourths of all the cases. It is easily acquired but not easily cured. In addition to its responsibility for blindness it causes a large amount of sterility.

One of the most serious results of vice is syphilis, which infects the blood and befouls the entire body. According to

[1] *Social Hygiene*, October, 1921, p. 451.

some estimates as many as 18 per cent of the men become afflicted with this disease, while others place the figure at not more than 5 per cent. The effects of syphilis on the race, however, regardless of the exact proportion of men afflicted, are most disastrous because of the death-dealing consequences to both women and children. It has been shown, for example, that more than 50 per cent of the syphilitic children die in infancy, and that most of the remainder grow up weak and sickly. Furthermore, the stigmata of the disease may be transmitted to the third generation. Many miscarriages and abortions also result from syphilitic infection.

Again, a large proportion of all the abdominal operations on women, especially married women, have been made necessary because of infection from gonorrhœa or syphilis. Likewise, a majority of the deaths from inflammatory diseases peculiar to women are a result of venereal disease. That syphilis shortens life is also indicated by the records of life insurance companies, some of which require extra payments from syphilitic persons. Furthermore, the disease is a frequent cause of general paralysis, locomotor ataxia, apoplexy, insanity, and other ailments.

Both gonorrhœa and syphilis are infectious and contagious diseases that can be transmitted by means of the discharge from sores on the fingers, lips, and other parts of the body and by means of contamination from kissing, from clothing, pipes, towels, and other articles of daily use.

Finally, illicit sex relations give us the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child; and only too often young girls are compelled to bear the burden of motherhood. The accumulation of evidence indicating the terrible ravages of venereal disease and the sad consequences of vice and ignorance have led to the promotion of efforts to protect society from these evils.

3. Measures of Prevention.

a. Societies of Social Hygiene.

The older organizations dealing with the problem of sexual vice confined themselves largely to methods of attacking the

so-called social evil or commercial prostitution. In recent years, however, the need of education relating to sex life has been recognized, with the result that the chief national agencies have been merged in the American Social Hygiene Association. In the majority of states either state or city societies have been organized and these affiliate with the national association. The original object of most sex hygiene societies was largely to lessen the spread of venereal disease and little attention was given to the moral phase of the problem. This attitude was the result of the interest of the physician in preventive medicine, for it was he who first apprehended the dangers of social disease to civilization, but he failed to see the broader relation of lax morals to the inevitable consequences of immorality. Gradually, however, the truth has been driven home, and a comprehensive program adopted.

Societies of social hygiene now carry on their work along several significant lines of work. Circulars of information are distributed to men and women, and in some cases even to children. The pamphlets intended for the older persons usually point out the dangers of sexual vice, such as the contracting of venereal affections, and the contamination of wives and children, while the pamphlets intended for young women also emphasize the possibilities of pregnancy. Many circulars discuss sex physiology so as to enable young persons to understand themselves better. An effort has been made to furnish circulars suited to young boys and girls, but great caution has been exercised in giving information to children through the printed leaflet.

Lectures on social and moral hygiene form an important part of the educational work. Women physicians frequently address assemblages of young women, while opportunities to address groups of men are very common. Many men and women are being reached in this way, and are told the essential facts of sex and social hygiene. It is believed that good results are obtained by instructing parents, who in turn will be able to instruct their children.

The use of the drama to fight the venereal peril and to develop higher morals is comparatively recent, but a number of problem plays have been attempted in order to represent the dangers of ignorance and vice. Whether these graphic representations are productive of good is a mooted question.

b. Public Educational and Preventive Work.

In a number of states the boards of health have begun to attempt methods of education, usually through the judicious distribution of pamphlet literature. These boards usually place special stress on the dangers of venereal disease and subordinate other considerations. On the other hand, the fallacy of a system of double morals and of the theory of sex necessity is taught, as well as the need of higher moral standards. The public health authorities have in some instances attempted to gain a better control of the spread of venereal disease.

Among the measures necessary to produce this result and in operation in different communities are:

(1) Compulsory reporting of venereal disease cases to board of health.
(2) Provision for laboratory tests.
(3) Venereal disease clinics.
(4) Treatment of cases, including hospital facilities, elimination of quacks.
(5) Social service and follow-up work.

Although this service is largely remedial, preventive work is also attempted through education and law enforcement.

The war necessitated an active program on the part of the federal government. As a consequence infection among the army men was only one-fifth as frequent as infection among men in civil life. This remarkable gain, however, was due to prophylactic as well as to preventive measures. After the war the United States Public Health Service continued its campaign against venereal disease and is now to be counted among the public agencies wrestling with the problem.

Several states have passed laws requiring persons, particularly males, contemplating marriage to present a physician's

certificate declaring them free from venereal disease. A study of these laws by the American Social Hygiene Association came to the conclusion that the only measure that was proving reasonably successful was the Wisconsin law. Some progress however, is indicated in Oregon.

c. Sex Education in the Schools.

It is well known that both boys and girls obtain information and misinformation about sexual matters at a very early age, and frequently their minds are besmirched thereby. It is not therefore a question of whether children shall be instructed or remain in ignorance, but a question of how best to instruct them so that their attitude shall be reverential and the subject of sex be invested with the nobility which it deserves. Granting the need of instruction, who shall be the guide? Shall it be the parent, the physician, the teacher in the schools or in the Sunday schools, or some other agency? This question is receiving the most serious consideration, but the widest divergence of opinion still exists.

The best statement ever made was expressed by a special committee of the American Federation of Sex Hygiene—an organization which was later merged with the American Social Hygiene Association. The plan of education may be summarized as follows:

Sex instruction is regarded as a practical measure, its aim being both hygienic and ethical. It must not awaken curiosity, and should keep sex consciousness and sex emotions at a minimum; consequently the details of human anatomy should be avoided in the elementary schools. Here the basis of instruction is nature study, in the secondary schools biology and hygiene become the basis of work, and all scientific instruction should be supplemented by ethical teaching.

The committee divided the life of pupils into four periods: from 1 to 6; from 6 to 12; from 12 to 16; and from 16 to maturity. Children in the first age period need chiefly the care of the mother, but the next group are to receive lessons on reproduction in plants and lower animal forms. The mind of

the child is to be prepared for reproduction in man, but the question is not discussed, although allusions to it are made. Children between 12 and 16 may study reproduction among mammals, and finally apply the facts to man; they should learn the significance of sexual morality, and be made to understand the physical and psychical changes through which they are passing. Children of 16 and over are to be instructed in heredity, the relation of sexual morality to future generations, and the dangers of venereal disease.

The committee did not favor separate lessons in sex education, but would make the instruction a part of courses in nature study, biology, hygiene, and ethics. Instruction involving reproduction among men is to be given in separate classes for each sex with a person of that sex for instructor. The regular teachers rather than a sex specialist were favored, but courses in sex hygiene were recommended for normal schools and colleges so as to train teachers along the line of instructing the young. It was also recommended that sex instruction be given in the evening schools so as to reach many children who have dropped out of the elementary grades. Systematic lectures at public expense are to be given to parents, and courses in sex instruction should be organized by various types of social agencies. Children in the upper grades of the elementary schools who are overaged and who have contracted injurious sex habits are in need of private instruction, and girls should be taught at an earlier age than boys.

The committee stated finally that sex instruction should not be introduced prematurely, but only so fast as competent teachers can be found and trained, and so fast as public sentiment will support it. The dangers attending sex instruction should not be overemphasized, because the pernicious teachings from clandestine sources from which so many children now suffer cause vastly more harm than would an occasional mistake in the method of treatment in the schools.

Contrasted with the attitude of the committee, whose program has just been outlined, is that of those who oppose all

sex instruction in the schools. Some of this opposition is based on the theory that if adequate moral instruction is given, sex education is unnecessary. This attitude, however, utterly divorces health from morals—a position inconsistent with the modern theory of how habits and morals are developed. There is no doubt but that the dangers attending sexual immorality must be emphasized as well as the advantages of right living. The tendency to "sow wild oats" must be overcome by showing its terrible consequences, as well as by moral teaching.

Another argument against sex education in the schools rests on the assumption that undue attention will be given by children to sex life and activity, with the consequence that they will brood over these problems instead of keeping them in the background. Again a group of children taught this subject may treat it in a frivolous manner, jest about it, and perhaps fail utterly to gain the good results expected. It makes considerable difference as to the psychological effects of certain forms of education whether a child is taught individually, or whether children are handled in groups.

It is also urged that the teacher does not hold the confidential relations to children that are held by the parent or perhaps the physician, and that therefore he cannot guide or instruct children so successfully on this very delicate subject. Some claim that it is not at all the function of the school to provide sex education, even though it might be done successfully, but that this work belongs exclusively to the home and to the church.

The ravages of venereal disease both among adults and children and the past failure of both parents and churches to deal adequately with the subject have forced the schools to enter this field of instruction and, if possible, to make a success of the undertaking. The point of least resistance was the college and normal school. Here instruction might be given partly to enlighten the student, partly to prepare him for the caution but effectiveness necessary as an instructor. In 10 years re-

markable advance may be noted. In 1910 the work had hardly begun but in 1920, 168 normal schools out of 350 in the country reported affirmatively to the question whether sex instruction was given to students. The work was usually combined with other courses, but some work at least was being done. Furthermore 92 per cent of the school principals replying favored sex instruction.

A study of high schools also reveals a considerable amount of progress. In 1922, 2635 high schools or 21.9 per cent of the total number of accredited and partially accredited high schools gave either emergency or integrated sex education. The schools are scattered all over the country, but the largest number giving instruction were located in Ohio. The highest proportions, however, were recorded for the Western and the Middle Atlantic states. Sixty per cent of the schools taught sex subjects through special lectures and forty per cent through courses in biology, sociology, physiology, hygiene, zoölogy, general science and botany. Even in the schools where no sex instruction was given the great majority of principals favored the introduction of some plan. It is also well known that, while in some communities no systematic program of sex education has been instituted, individual teachers in many schools have instructed their pupils on this subject.

The test of the success of sex education in the schools will have to be made in the grade schools, however, not in the high schools. There is little reason why sex instruction cannot be given to boys and girls of high school age, but grave difficulties attend similar instruction intended for children in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. On the other hand, children should be properly instructed in sex hygiene before they reach the high school, since it is not the wisest economy to wait until their minds have been contaminated with pernicious ideas. It is well known that most children of ten and over have received considerable information about sex subjects, and if they are to be safeguarded morally, they should be guided as soon as the need becomes apparent.

It is not a settled conclusion, however, that the task of sex instruction shall fall to the schools. It more properly belongs to the home, and parents should be fitted for this work. Meanwhile, some experimentation by well-operated schools would do no harm and might throw much light on the best method of handling this most delicate subject.

d. Education of Parents.

In the great majority of cases parents do not discuss the subject of sex with their children. The inevitable query, "Where does the baby come from?" is met with an evasion or a positive misstatement of fact; consequently the boy receives his first lesson in the barnyard or the alley. The fact is that parents do not properly dignify sex and sex relations, and hence are incapable of presenting these subjects to their children. The confidential relations between parents and children are or ought to be such that if the former have the right attitude of mind they can best inform the children on sex matters. It is therefore incumbent upon societies of social hygiene and other interested bodies to educate parents for this most important work by means of lectures, pamphlets, approved books, and personal advice and consultation. There is no doubt that much good also can be done by reaching young people before they become parents and providing them with the proper sex information.

A considerable effort is being made to educate parents, so they may shoulder the burden of sex education. Here the aid and resources of the educational authorities should be accepted without qualification. The schools can well afford to give room to lectures to parents on this subject and even to provide lecturers and teachers. It should be remembered that the general attitude on this question, which has remained substantially the same throughout the ages, cannot be revolutionized in a day; so it is worth while to be patient and to attempt to build our new ideas on a solid foundation. The education of parents through appropriate means is therefore essential and should proceed as rapidly as possible.

Little can be expected from the physician directly as far as sex instruction of children is concerned. The great majority of families do not stand in a sufficiently close relation with a physician to be able to use him for the education of their children. Therefore other methods of handling the problem must be devised.

e. The Church and Sex Education.

The church cannot avoid the subject of sex education, inasmuch as the development of austere moral standards is at least one-half of the problem. The church has not performed its part of the great work of ennobling and spiritualizing the men and women of to-day with the degree of success that should be expected. The failure is due in part to the antiquated methods still in vogue in a large number of Sunday schools and to an undue emphasis on doctrine at the expense of practical religion. Sunday schools will not be successful until actual efficiency tests are applied and reforms inaugurated such as the employment of qualified teachers, the standardization of teaching, the grading of pupils, the introduction of graded work, and the shifting of emphasis from dogmatic theology to the problems of applied religion. Such reforms will open the way for a rational treatment of sex problems, and for such timely advice and instruction as will raise the morals of children and young people as well as promote healthful living.

The church is in danger of limiting its work to the abstract teaching of morals without direct application to sex life, and of forgetting that the hygienic side of the problem of sex education cannot be avoided. If a reasonable balance is maintained, the church can become one of the chief factors in the solution of this question.

4. Results of Sex Education.

The time has not yet arrived when the results of so-called sex education can be evaluated. Here and there definite effects are noted, but the situation is frequently too complicated with other factors to enable the investigator to isolate the outcome of sex education and to give definite facts rather than opinions.

Exner's study has some value in this respect. Over 98 per cent of the college men receiving instruction from wholesome sources claimed that the results were good. In one large university attendance by the men at lectures on sex subjects was made compulsory, and an experience of ten years produced amazing changes. The percentage of venereal disease cases has fallen to a small fraction of that prevailing before the instruction was given. No doubt the work of the army officials and social hygiene societies during the war not only lessened disease but reduced immorality as well. Often it revolutionized the attitude of a man and made him realize his physical and moral responsibilities. The beneficent effect of individual instruction can be confirmed in countless cases. It is the value of mass instruction about which more data are necessary in order that the matter of sex education may be properly directed. Meanwhile there is a great need for teachers with the proper training, the correct attitude toward the problem, and the personality that will win for honor and ideals.

5. The Sphere of Sex Education.

Sex education looks forward to a much larger service than the elimination of venereal disease and illicit sex relations. It must become positive and constructive. It must give to the individual that information, that ideal, that strength of character which will enable him to maintain a clean body and a clean mind and the capacity to pass on to posterity only those traits that are desirable.

Every individual is either male or female and treated accordingly from the moment of birth. Every individual thinks many sex thoughts during his life time beginning with the first consciousness of being a boy or a girl and ending with the last thought of life and its numerous episodes. There is sex consciousness before there is sex function; there are sex practices before the body is fully developed and there are sex appeals long before parents realize that their children are no longer babies.

To-day thousands of young men and young women rush

headlong into marriage with but little appreciation of what is involved, with little or no proper instruction, either biological or ethical. Is it surprising to find that divorce is so frequent, that desertions are common and that a large proportion of family troubles are rooted in sex misunderstandings and maladjustments! Although the family is one of the basic social institutions little thought has been given to preparing our youth for the task of making the family serve society according to its capacity. Because the family is founded on sex and the discussion of certain pertinent sex subjects was taboo the founding of family life has been attempted with less definite preparation therefor than for any other important function of human life. Instead of pruning and directing the sex plant we have allowed it to grow wild and have harvested the natural results. In fact we have fed sex appeals through the stage and the screen, through certain forms of dress and dancing and through a mass of degrading and disgusting novels and other forms of literature. The broader sex education is moral education; it promotes reverence for one's own body, respect for the opposite sex, high ideals of marriage and obligations to posterity.

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PART IV

CHILD LABOR

CHAPTER XVIII

CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

The causes of child labor are so complicated that the precise influence of each cause cannot be weighed. The contributing factors are so interdependent that if one of the causes should suddenly be removed, the others would become largely inactive; at least much of their power would have disappeared. But the factors do not work with equal force in different localities. In some regions, for example, poverty is a powerful compelling force; in another, low ideals among parents; in a third, the greed of employers. To these facts is largely due the heterogeneous nature of the child labor problem.

1. Greed of Parents.

That the greed of parents is often an important cause of the employment of children is an undeniable fact. Even to-day many parents still consider their growing children as capital or economic assets on which they hope to declare dividends at the first opportunity. Formerly, when education was not compulsory, and factory labor was still in its infancy, the large family was regarded as an economic advantage because the cost of maintenance was comparatively low and children could be employed at very early ages. Among the farming population thousands of children are at present engaged in gainful occupations. The use of the child in farm labor as soon as he is physically able is a very natural condition. If the parents have low ideals, children are exploited and overworked, but usually they attend school during most of the school year, and are still able to give considerable assistance at home. By performing certain light tasks, the country child inculcates a habit of industry which is invaluable to him in later life. If

such work is required principally for the sake of training, it is most useful, but if it degenerates into drudgery, and prevents education and legitimate leisure time, it is most harmful. It often happens that the farmer's son is deprived of a sufficient education to become efficient in any occupation other than that of farming. The small boy compelled to hire out to another farmer is usually exploited, and represents a most unhappy form of child labor.

The greed of parents presents its darkest aspects in the attitude of the ignorant classes of native Americans and of a large proportion of newly arrived immigrants, who send their children to factories and workshops, where the extenuating conditions that exist on the farm do not obtain. In fact, the child labor question is in some sections closely allied to the problem of immigration. Children are exploited for two principal reasons: first, in order to increase the family income; second, to enable parents to withdraw from work and live upon the earnings which the children provide. Fall River, Massachusetts, furnishes a good example of the tendency to use the entire family as an income-gaining agency. In addition to husband and wife, the children of the foreign born enter the mills as soon as the laws of the state permit. Investigation has shown that parents often send their children to work as soon as the fourteenth birthday has been reached, despite the deficiency in education which may exist. Hundreds of children drop out of school in the midst of their school year, and are expected to become wholly, or in part, self-supporting. Factory inspectors frequently find that children do not give their ages correctly and claim to be above the required working age, no matter how small or underaged they may appear. Usually the children have been instigated to such untruthfulness by their parents, who are also frequently guilty of perjury in regard to the ages of their children. Such low ideals were formerly very common in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania.

Child labor is especially prevalent in large families. Limited

investigation in St. Louis shows that working children come from families averaging more than six persons each. In 70 per cent of 1085 families studied, three persons, or half of the members of the family, were engaged in gainful work. The feeling prevails that as soon as the child is old enough he ought to follow the example of his older brothers and sisters and become gainfully employed. Parents think they cannot afford to allow children of working age to remain in school. Frequently, however, the youngest child escapes from this tyranny of procedure and gains additional education. Studies in several localities, for example, in New York City, indicate that the majority of families could live decently without the income from the working child.

The second cause of exploitation finds a less common expression, but is not absent. The child labor problem in New England before 1820 was somewhat intensified by the desire of parents to retire as soon as their children were able to obtain sufficient wages to maintain the entire family. Many parents hold that since their children are dependent on them for so many years, it is entirely proper for the children to bear the burdens of the family as soon as possible. They owe this to their parents, regardless of the handicap to themselves in later life. /Indolent and shiftless parents especially rely on such support./ An extreme case of this kind is afforded in the following illustration: A young foreigner not many years in the United States, having married early, found that at the age of 34 his children were able to support him, and that the family could be maintained without his aid. He therefore retired, and began to spend his days in idleness and pleasure. In the South many families move from the mountains to the cotton mill districts in order to enable the young children to earn a wage even though it be a mere pittance. Cases have been cited of fathers whose chief occupation was that of carrying lunches and dinners to their children in the factories!

Much child labor is due to the indifference of parents. Children manifest their dislike for school work, and parents, in-

stead of insisting that they continue to study, permit them to decide as they please. If under these conditions some slight economic gain should result, parents remain entirely apathetic. The New York vocational survey declares that the most striking thing discovered in the investigation was the apathy of both parents and children; three-fourths of the former, and two-thirds of the latter, had no conviction that it was worth while to continue school work; it seemed a sacrifice to remain and much would be gained by beginning to work. It appears that many parents do not consider education practical and are glad to see that their children are anxious to enter industry, but conditions in this respect are not uniform throughout the United States. In places where the tradition of education is strong, parents are loath to allow their children to drop out of school, but in other sections the opposite is true. The Massachusetts investigations indicate that the majority of parents prefer that the child should remain in school, other conditions being favorable, and experience in Chicago and St. Louis indicate apathy among the majority of the parents. The investigation by the federal government shows that parents wanted their children to enter industry in 27.9 per cent of the cases, although the labor was not necessary. Probably the real apathy, however, is much larger than this figure.

2. Poverty.

Although a large number of parents whose children work enjoy a reasonable standard of living, and push their children into industry in order to add to the family comforts and conveniences, a considerable proportion also suffer from economic pressure. Some light on the influence of poverty as a cause of child labor appears from the results of the federal investigation of child wage earners made in 1907-8 and from the work of the Children's Bureau in its study after the war of working children in Boston. The statistics are presented in the following table.[1]

[1] *Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 46. U. S. Children's Bureau, *Working Children in Boston.*

CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

CAUSES	PERCENTAGES	
	1907–8	1920
Necessity	30.0	40.5
Help desired but not necessary	27.9	5.5
Dissatisfaction with school	26.6	24.2
Child prefers to work	9.8	12.3
Other causes	5.7	17.5

According to these two studies economic conditions account directly for about one-half of the child labor, and more than one-fifth of the children are discontented with school and turn to industry, many of them because they are anxious to work.

Economic necessity was probably a less compelling cause of child labor before the war than since. Hardly more than one-third of the working children were forced into industry. The amount of child labor has fallen recently, but a large proportion of it is apparently due to the necessity of maintaining a living family wage. Further studies by the Children's Bureau corroborate this view. In the anthracite coal regions 55 per cent of the families pleaded poverty as the cause, and in the soft coal districts nearly one-half did likewise. A somewhat different situation prevails in the sugar beet regions. Here many children and mothers as well are employed. Low economic status is a dominating cause, but the customs of the tenants, contract labor and the practical difficulty in substituting adult male labor are outstanding factors. In a similar way farm labor is partly a remnant of the old domestic system, partly a method of solving the labor problem and not very largely the outcome of an aggravated poverty problem.

Poverty is, however, both a cause and an effect. It is such an insinuating influence and is so interwoven with the other causes that an estimate of its actual magnitude as a factor is most difficult. For example, the attitude of parent or child often depends upon the poverty in the home; employers often encourage child labor because they believe that poverty will be

alleviated thereby; and state laws permit exemptions to allow children of less than the standard working age to be gainfully employed, in order to help maintain dependent members of the family. Poverty is too often one segment of a vicious circle, for: poverty causes child labor; child labor prevents opportunity for industrial training and results in low wages in later life; low wages in turn mean poverty. Consequently poverty seems to run in families, when the real cause is a succession of conditions that naturally follow each other, and that will not change until broken at the most vulnerable point.

Poverty, or, more accurately, a low plane of living, requires an increase of income, whatever be the sources. Some children work to aid their widowed mothers but, contrary to popular belief, the proportion of such cases is remarkably small. Others are expected to add to the family income to make higher standards possible, especially if the family lives on the subsistence level and every increase in income is so much gain. If parents have low ideals, poverty acts more easily as an apparent cause than otherwise.

3. The Attitude of the Child.

The child's attitude is a very important factor in the problem and involves two considerations—dissatisfaction with school, and the desire to work. A large proportion of the children dropping out of school leave on their own initiative, many of them in spite of protests from parents. They do not fully understand the value of the education which they are receiving or they fail to advance; so they refuse to continue after they have passed the age of compulsory attendance. The majority of children who leave school do not intend to remain idle, but naturally turn to some gainful occupation to absorb their time, and to earn a little money. Children, especially boys, develop a spirit of independence and become anxious to demonstrate their working capacity. The impulse grows because most children have friends who are earning money. Nothing thrills a young boy more than the first wages he receives. His first gainful employment develops his pride and

self-reliance; besides, he is earning money which he could not otherwise enjoy, and in turning from the monotony of school to the drudgery of work, he does not realize what the step will cost him.

The limited studies which have been made of the causes of child labor throw some light on the proportion of blame borne by the child directly. Out of 612 children considered by the federal government, two-fifths left school and entered industry of their own choice, many of them against the expressed wishes of their parents. Over 22 per cent of the 1085 St. Louis school children studied were anxious to begin working, while the majority of all these children secured their first positions through their own efforts. These examples indicate that a large proportion of the working children deliberately enter industry of their own accord but this could, of course, be prevented in many cases except for the indifference of the parents. The gravity of this condition points most clearly to the need of such reformation in our educational system as will change the attitude of both child and parent. Furthermore, the parents need to learn that child labor ordinarily obstructs the promise of a future and leads to unskilled labor and a low plane of living. A better school and better parents are necessary to guide the child and to prevent him from ruining his material prospects.

4. Demand for Child Labor.

The attitude of employers of labor is responsible for much of the child labor of the United States. The culpability of the employer in this respect is twofold: first, he makes the entrance of the child into industry possible by employing children who are pressed into service by their parents or who deliberately decide to enter on their own initiative. By accepting children he encourages the tendency of parents and child workers to continue the evil of child labor. Frequently employers receive children who should not have been granted work certificates, but they refuse to accept responsibility for this because they are operating a business concern, not a moral hospital! In

the second place, many employers directly encourage and demand child labor in order to enhance their profits. The pressure of parents would be of no avail if employers did not offer inducements to children. Wages indeed are poor, but other considerations play a part. When the child, discouraged on account of unsatisfactory school work, turns to the factory or the mill, he often finds a cordial welcome in industry instead of finding the doors closed against him. An increasing number of employers, influenced by both human kindness and long-sighted business considerations, have reduced the amount of child labor in their employ, but a large contingent still favor the employment of children and do not consider the influence of such employment upon the future prospects of the child. Progressive employers have sometimes voluntarily refused to encourage child labor. In the South this attitude has taken the form of temporary agreements not to employ children below a certain age. Competitive conditions, however, usually prevent such agreements from becoming permanent.

The attitude of the dominating faction in industry is indicated by the character of the laws in those states in which certain industries are largely localized. The canning and preserving industry, for example, has endeavored to prevent wholesome child labor legislation. In nearly every state in which the industry is economically important, it has been wholly or partially exempt from the operation of child labor laws, and the severest struggle has been necessary to secure adequate legislation. The exemption is based on the supposed necessity of working long and irregular hours in order to save perishable products.

Supported by a foreign population not averse to child labor, the apologists for the system have resisted the demands of the friends of child labor reform. Within the last few years the agricultural industries of fruit and vegetable raising have interfered with the enactment of better legislation. The beet sugar industry has opposed laws eliminating children from the arduous tasks of cultivating beets, and children are likewise

wanted to pick and sort fruit and berries. In fact agricultural industry which formerly was quite exempt from every variety of child labor law has begun to feel the pressure of compulsory attendance laws and the work of the anti-child-labor forces. As a consequence definite and organized opposition has developed and several years of effort are necessary to overcome the obstacles to harmful child labor in agriculture. The Southern cotton mill industry has fought federal legislation and mill owners from this section tested the constitutionality of the law with the hope that the courts would find the laws unconstitutional as they eventually did.

The curious inconsistencies in which employers and legislators indulge may be illustrated by the laws of Delaware which formerly also exempted the manufacturer of fruit and berry baskets from the operation of the laws. It is so easy to overlook the differences between physical and commercial perishability, and thus pave the way for the collapse of child labor laws. It has also been a stupendous task to rescue the working child from night shifts in the glass mills of a number of our industrial states. The protests were based on the theory that the values of perishable goods were at stake. The physical and moral welfare of growing boys was of slight importance.

Again in the coal-mining industry the employment of young children has with difficulty been prevented.

Long hours of work, the low minimum age limit, and the absence of efficient systems of inspection and enforcement—all indicate that economic conditions and the influence of employers are too powerful to permit reasonable child labor legislation. Quite singularly also some of the strongest opponents of progressive legislation are Northern men who have invested in Southern cotton mills and who are credited with willing conformity to the more advanced laws of New England.

It must not be forgotten that many Southern mill owners are strong supporters of moderate child labor laws, and that manufacturers frequently maintain schools for the mill children, who, in their old homes, received no education whatso-

ever. In fact, child labor in the South is condoned by others than manufacturers on the ground that it makes a better use of the child's time as well as gives many children educational facilities which would otherwise have been denied them.

The newsboy has enjoyed greater immunity from the law than any other class of working children. Many newspapers, although they advocate suitable child labor laws for other industries, are opposed to legislation which will curtail the operations of the vendor of their own wares. This opposition arises from two causes: the belief that the newsboy conduces to a larger circulation of the paper, and sympathy for the boy in his present desires rather than in his future needs. Sentiment for the boy, commendable at the right time but not wise in this connection, aids him in the development of bad habits.

It is probable that the industries mentioned represent the most aggressive form of opposition by employers to child labor legislation. Much of the appeal of the employer in favor of child labor is based on two arguments: first, economic necessity. Intense solicitude is manifested for the family income! What will become of the widows if their children may not help to support them? Although the general fallacy of this argument has been clearly shown, legislators are still influenced thereby. The second argument relates to the evils of child idleness. If the boy does not work, he will be idle and engaged in mischief; therefore it is better to allow child labor. Child idleness is, however, not the logical alternative for child labor, and little progress is made by substituting one evil for another.

5. Modern Industrial Conditions.

Modern industrial conditions have made room for both woman and child labor in several ways: first, by the use of improved machinery; and second, by such a minute subdivision of labor as to separate lighter forms of work from the more difficult operations; third, women and children can be secured for such work at comparatively low wages. Children are in many cases able to operate a machine because modern improvements have made it so nearly automatic. The ma-

chinist must be continued, but the adult operators can be dismissed in favor of the young boy or girl. When the work does not require special skill or strength, the tendency is especially marked. The chief advantage which accrues to the employer from this substitution is the use of poorly paid child labor instead of adult labor. Nor is output decreased by this change, as the worn-out boy can soon be replaced by another eager to obtain his paltry earnings. In certain factories young girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age are taking the place of men in the operation of machines, but are receiving wages no higher than those usually paid to girls of that age.

Much work which requires time and running to and fro is apportioned to the little boy or girl. In the cotton mills the children are very largely used for this kind of work; for example, the doffers, bobbin boys, and spool boys. In fact, a large proportion of the older boys drop out of the cotton mills because they have outgrown their work. The glasshouses use boys in a similar way, and elsewhere in industry niches for the employment of the child have been made by the convenience afforded by the helper and the apprentice. A particular occupation may be isolated from the series of processes necessary to complete an article, and if only a single act of skill is required, a child can become proficient in a short time. In the clothing trade such minor occupations become a department in which children are frequently employed. The tasks allotted to small girls in the manufacture of artificial flowers require little skill; all processes requiring much care and attention are performed by skilled hands, but much can be left to the work of the untried employee. The comparative facility with which a large proportion of the occupations in many mills can be performed tends directly toward the use of the child wherever he can be secured for the carrying on of these occupations.

Modern competition is an additional factor which often paralyzes the efforts of progressive manufacturers. The margin of profit is frequently so narrow that legislation may become a menace. Natural advantages and child labor in some states

also operate to encourage the use of child labor in other states. The competitive conditions over which employers have no immediate control are often responsible for the antagonistic attitude of employers toward the abolition of child labor. If conditions could be equalized throughout the United States, much of the opposition to good legislation would disappear. The objection to uniform state laws is comparatively slight because changes in the cost of production would then be distributed equally among competitors whether they lived in the same or some other state.

6. Indifference of the Public.

The public must bear a large share of the responsibility for the existence of child labor, as it can eliminate much of the evil by seriously opposing the practice. The culpability of the public takes several forms: direct preference for the goods or wares peddled by the child; a willingness to allow child labor for the purposes of self-support or the support of dependent parents; inability to recognize the ultimate results of premature child labor; the desire to purchase goods at the lowest possible cost regardless of the child labor which may be involved; and finally, utter indifference to the social problem itself. The public encourages child labor by its willful patronage of the small boy. The newsboy seated on the doorstep of the public building gets the major portion of the business without exertion on his part, while the adult worker strives in vain to secure his share of the sales. The same principle obtains with the child working elsewhere; sympathy for the child blinds reason and foresight, and thus the child is allowed to continue his work. The public must learn that it is not efficient kindness to purchase the goods that are made by child labor under bad conditions, nor to purchase the small child's wares even when he begs piteously.

Poverty exemptions indicate social lethargy. A child under fourteen should not be compelled to bear the economic burdens of supporting a family, yet children of tender years are often exploited and compelled to labor for hire. Even our relief

societies, which supposedly are actuated by the most prudential and farsighted motives, will, on occasion, endanger the prospects of a child by insisting that upon his arriving at the age when he can legally be employed he shall immediately enter some gainful occupation in order to relieve the public of the support of dependent parents. This has been done in spite of the child's immaturity and lack of preparation for industry. Such action means gross neglect of duty, and no charity has a right to a moment's existence which strives to rehabilitate a family by means of injurious child labor.

Many men of prominence fail to realize that the new industrial conditions require special preparation on the child's part. Because many men began work as mere boys and succeeded, is no argument against wholesome legislation at the present time. Successful men frequently oppose good laws because they themselves have not failed and have withstood the disadvantages of premature toil. They do not usually realize, however, that child labor involves risks and handicaps to-day which are far more serious than the consequences in a former decade when cities were smaller, machinery less complex, and work less rapid. They have become blinded to the evil effects of child labor, and are often bitter enemies of the real interests of the child of to-day. The farming class likewise fails to understand the dangers of child labor in the cities and in industrial centers, because farmers are prone to judge the results of all forms of labor by the effects of labor on the farm. In our legislatures such men are easily influenced to oppose needed legislation.

It thus appears that while the specific causes of child labor are numerous, the chief factors are reducible to six heads: the attitude of the parents; poverty; the ambition of the child; the greed of employers; modern industrial conditions; and the indifference of the public. The relative importance of some of these factors can be approximated in a superficial way, but in most instances they coöperate closely to produce the evil in question, and each one of these causes is an essential factor

in the problem. The more fundamental positive causes, however, are limited to two: poverty, or low plane of living; and the absence of ideals due to ignorance and indifference. As a preventive of progressive legislation, the opposition of the employer undoubtedly stands foremost, but the elimination of child labor depends especially upon improved economic and moral conditions and better educational facilities. Poverty usually prevents the acquirement of educational advantages. A lack of these results in low ideals. Accordingly, children want to work, and parents encourage the idea. By remaining unskilled workers, child laborers cannot reach a high plane of living where child labor can be entirely abolished.

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CHAPTER XIX

FACTORS OF THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM

1. Occupations of Children.

The occupational distribution of the workers is an important factor in the child labor problem. The character of the work affects the health, while the type of employment may affect the industrial opportunities of the laborers. Certain forms of work also tend to demoralize children. The occupational distribution of child workers in the United States in 1920 is based on figures for January 1 while those of previous censuses are based on the situation in April or perhaps still later in the year. Accordingly the statistics are not entirely comparable particularly for agriculture in the Northern states.

The Federal statistics relating to the child labor situation in the United States are given in the following table:

OCCUPATION	CHILDREN (10–15)			
	1920		1910	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	647,309	61.0	1,432,428	72.0
Mining	7,191	0.7	18,090	0.9
Manufacturing	185,337	17.5	260,932	13.1
Transportation	18,912	1.8	20,800	1.0
Trade	63,368	6.0	70,700	3.6
Public Service	1,150	0.1	537	0.0
Professional Service	3,465	0.3	3,566	0.2
Domestic and Personal Service	54,006	5.1	112,171	5.6
Clerical Occupation	80,140	7.6	71,001	3.6
Total	1,060,858	100.0	1,990,225	100.0

Since 1910 a marked decline in the number of child workers has occurred and this decline has registered itself in every im-

portant occupation except clerical pursuits. However, the decline in agriculture was much less than the figures indicate. Three-eighths of the children reported as at work were under 14. Most of these were employed in agriculture, with trade and domestic and personal service following, but far in the background. It should not be overlooked that while the records do not cover children under 10 it is well known that many very young children are employed in the street trades and in tenement house or sweat shop work. It is very likely that the more prosperous times succeeding the date of the census-taking gave rise to a large increase in child labor. Accordingly the child labor situation is less reassuring than seems to be the case on the surface.

In the manufacturing industries the children are employed chiefly in occupations connected with the manufacture of cotton goods, hosiery, silk, knit goods, confectionery and woolens, and with the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables. The number employed in the cotton mills fell 46 per cent between 1910 and 1920, a fact due largely to the rapid improvement of conditions in the Southern states. Legislation is, of course, largely the cause of this upward movement. The silk mills, and the food industries, however, have been employing an increasing number of children since 1910.

The relative progress of the different geographical divisions in reducing child labor in manufacturing has considerable significance, as is shown by the fact that the New England states have remained almost stationary, while a decline has occurred in every other section of the country. The least proportions are found in the Western and North Central states; the highest in the South—particularly in the East South Central states where the average proportion of the children employed is more than twice the rate for the entire United States. The Carolinas, however, which stood highest in 1910 have been superseded by Mississippi and Alabama. Among the northern and western states the largest proprtion of children gainfully employed is in Rhode Island where 13 per cent are at work.

Child labor in the South is not factory labor largely, as many suppose, but chiefly agricultural labor. In fact 70 per cent of the children in manufacturing pursuits are in the northern states east of the Mississippi River. However, these children are generally over 14, whereas in the mills of the South many younger children are still tolerated. Pennsylvania, so long a problem, has greatly reduced the number of its employed children during the last decade although it still exceeds any of the other Northern states.

The fact that the extensive employment of children is largely confined to a few states is due, of course, to the presence in those states of industries in which many light and unskilled forms of labor abound. These industries are situated as follows: the cotton industry is largely localized in New England, the Carolinas, and Georgia; the glass mills are found especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and West Virginia; candy making is carried on throughout the United States, but the chief seat of the industry is in Massachusetts and New York, and silk manufacturing is carried on principally in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania is also noted for its woolen factories and for its coal production. The boot and shoe industry flourishes in Massachusetts and Missouri, while canning and preserving are carried on extensively in at least fifteen states. Cotton production entices many children in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, while sugar beets are grown especially in Colorado, Michigan, Utah, California, Nebraska and Idaho.

Although agriculture claims the great majority of all child laborers, it does not seriously injure the child, since outdoor work on the farm will not produce bad physical effects. This reasoning, however, does not apply to such forms of work as those required in the beet fields and on some of the fruit and vegetable farms. However, 88 per cent of the children reported were members of families and merely assisting their parents, who in most cases, will safeguard the physical interests of their children. Nevertheless, among many South European immi-

grant families, Mexicans and negroes such precautions are often slighted, and therefore rural child labor requires attention. No harm will result from the ordinary forms of farm work, if a compulsory education law is enforced and the children work only outside of school hours and during the vacation season.

Domestic and personal service furnish a real child labor problem. In this group of occupations, children of foreign parentage and negroes form a large proportion of the workers, and as a result business rather than personal ties obtain in the relationship between employer and employee, since most of the employers are native whites. About one-half of these workers are mere servants and waiters and are forced at once to recognize class differences. Much of the work is of a menial and degrading character, while the routine of work and the lack of opportunities for self-expression produce serious moral effects.

"Trade and transportation" has offered an apparently inviting field for a large number of children. Mercantile establishments draw heavily on children for the simpler occupations, such as bundle wrappers, cash boys and girls, and delivery boys, while the carrying of bundles and packages has developed enormous proportions. Offices demand boys to do the odds and ends that must be done. Other branches of this group are newspaper selling, messenger service, boot-blacking, selling of gum, flowers, etc., and distributing bills. The most important numerically is newspaper selling, and the newsboy is found in every city where daily papers are sold, and even in smaller towns.

In spite of legislation regulating the street trades there were more newsboys in 1920 than ten years before. Happily the newsgirl has all but disappeared. Many boys, however, did not qualify for the statistics because they were less than ten years old. When unrestricted by law very small boys may often be seen engaged in this occupation, but the majority of boys begin when about nine or ten years of age. They re-

main in the service for about three years, then drop out and search for some new occupation.

There are still a large number of messenger boys, but because of their unreliability the younger boys are being dropped and an increasing number of the boys employed are over 16 years of age. The boy bootblack is also being driven out of his occupation, and the remaining street trades employ but few children. This group of occupations really unfits children for regular work; consequently the state must endeavor to reduce the number engaged in the street trades. The recent child labor laws are making special provisions for the control of these occupations, but are not usually applying the same restrictions as those limiting factory work.

A small group of children are employed in professional service, many of whom sing, act, or practice contortions in moving picture shows, vaudeville, and cheap theaters. The environment in which they work is frequently most demoralizing, and they usually are without proper chaperonage. Furthermore, they are deprived of the means of education. Very few children under 16 years of age can engage in any profession in which the influences are uplifting and educational.

In the coal mining industry the employment of boys under 14 has almost ceased, while the number of boys from 14 to 16 has been reduced, and the great majority of these boys are working above ground.

In many industries a limited amount of work is sent to individual homes to be completed there. This results in one of the phases of the sweating system. Among these industries are the manufacture of men's ready-made clothing, women's and children's underwear, hosiery, dolls' clothes, artificial flowers, shirts, cuffs and collars, leather goods, paper boxes, brush making, hand embroidery, and nut picking. A large proportion of the home work is carried on in tenements in the large cities, where the work is usually done by the mothers and the children. The children of school age cannot assist during school hours, but help in the mornings and evenings. Small

children may be required to work all day, and it is not unusual for all the children and female members of a family to engage in home work until the late hours of the evening. The investigation of child labor conditions made by the federal government discovered children five years of age and upward employed in the making of men's clothing, and agents for the state of New York likewise found children of these ages actively engaged in work. The principal nationalities represented were the Bohemians, Italians, and Russian Jews.

In some states licenses are required before individuals may manufacture goods in their homes, but it has been impossible heretofore to enforce license laws satisfactorily, consequently we have no adequate knowledge of the amount of home work that is still carried on. Even when a system of inspection is in operation, it is difficult to learn about child labor and the hours of work. Without doubt a considerable number of children are employed in the home sweatshops and are compelled to work as many hours per day as their parents may require. In New York City alone over 16,000 licenses are held, but sweating is largely localized in a few large cities.

In estimating the magnitude and seriousness of the child labor problem most agricultural laborers should be excluded from consideration. Again the proportion of children in manufacturing, which increased tremendously during the decade 1890-1900, has suffered a remarkable reduction since that time, although many children remain. Children likewise do not prove very acceptable in domestic service; they rebel against its exactions and are gradually being displaced. The heavy increase during the ten years ending in 1900 in the number of children engaged in trade and transportation has been counteracted by the recent drastic legislation, and the proportion of child workers in this group of occupations has been greatly reduced.

2. Age of Children.

In 1920, 68 per cent of all the working children were 14 years of age or over, and the prevailing tendency to raise the

age limits is constantly increasing this proportion. Although the majority of agricultural child workers are under 14, the danger here is of slight importance. But great harm follows the employment of children under 14 in manufacturing, mining, trade and transportation, and home work. The presence of children under 14 in factories is largely confined to the South, where the age limits have not been raised to the accepted standard, and to the canning industry elsewhere. Many children under 10 have been discovered in the cotton mills, some of whom are carried directly on the pay rolls. Comparatively few children under 14 are found in domestic service.

Formerly the canning industry was the chief offender in employing children under 10 as was disclosed by investigations in New York and elsewhere. The recent studies by the Children's Bureau reveals similar conditions in other industries. In 1920 nearly 43 per cent of the children in the Colorado beet fields were under 11, and in Michigan the percentage was 38. In some cases children began work before they were six years old. In the oyster-canning industry similar conditions obtain and nearly one-fourth of the children had not reached their eleventh birthday.

Home work, most of which qualifies as sweating, has always exploited the small children. In Rhode Island the Bureau found that over 45 per cent of the children engaged in such work were under 11, and as one should expect seven-eighths were under 14. In Connecticut these conditions were practically duplicated. The general facts for New York City are well-known. Here Italian children are the chief sufferers; although Polish and Jewish children cannot entirely escape the baneful system.

Apart from the industries mentioned, there are few that are legally permitted to employ children under 14. The age of entering industry is therefore considerably above the minimum age.

The street trades have until the recent legislation in many states commanded a large number of boys under 12 and many

under 10; for example, before the enactment of the Missouri law, one-seventh of the newsboys of St. Louis were under 10 years of age and about one-half were either 11 or 12.

The Children's Bureau, however, found that in 1920 the median age of children entering regular employment in the soft coal communities studied was slightly over 15; and in the hard coal regions it was 15 years and 9 months. The figures for 3544 children in Boston indicate a median age of about 14 years and 8 months.

3. Literacy and Education.

No statistics are available in regard to the comparative literacy of working children in the United States, but without doubt the proportion of illiteracy is higher among working than among non-working children. In the Northern states the amount of illiteracy among the general population is small, but in the South the percentage is comparatively high. Here the children in the mills are largely recruited from the ignorant people coming from the mountains, and therefore a high rate of illiteracy prevails among them.

The Federal government in an older study of the illiteracy of children in the Southern cotton mills discovered that the rate was much heavier than that prevailing among the white population. The illiteracy was lower among the older children, however, due in part to the habit of allowing some of the children of the family to work during one year while the remainder are at school, and then alternating the next year by sending the children who had worked to school, and those who had attended school to the mills.

The foreign-born child also affects the percentage of illiteracy among working children. Among this group the proportion unable to read and write is comparatively high, and at the same time a larger percentage than among the native born are engaged in gainful employment. The age of children on coming to the United States likewise affects the problem, for the older children often do not attend school at all. Negro children suffer from inferior educational advantages, and

therefore a high rate of illiteracy naturally prevails among them.

A literacy test does not afford much information concerning the amount of education acquired by child workers. It is easy to classify as literate if the smallest amount of education has been secured, but it is difficult to make satisfactory progress in the schools. A large proportion of working children have a mere smattering of knowledge, and are not able to use their education for practical and gainful purposes.

Sterner requirements than formerly by our child labor laws keep children in school longer than before. Nevertheless, the dearth of education among the children about to enter industry is still appalling.

The following figures presented by the federal government give the average grade of the children studied in the localities designated.

AVERAGE GRADE OF WORKING CHILDREN[1]

LOCALITY	AVERAGE GRADE ON LEAVING SCHOOL
Pawtucket	4.1
Woonsocket	3.6
Columbus, Georgia	4.0
Georgia and Alabama counties	3.1
Columbia, South Carolina	2.9
Plymouth, Pennsylvania	4.0
Hazelton, Pennsylvania	5.0

These figures show a comparatively low grade attainment—the highest average being only five. It also appears that nearly one-half of the children left before entering the fifth grade and three-fourths before reaching the seventh. If these facts gathered in 1908 are still typical for the child labor in the smaller cities and towns, it indicates a most grievous condition, and emphasizes the need of including definite educational requirements in every child labor law and the rigid enforcement of these provisions. Such is the case with the mining com-

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 132.

munities of the eastern states. The Bureau of Education reported that in the soft coal regions of the Appalachians only 19 per cent of the children remained in school until the eighth grade. The Children's Bureau found that in 1920 in similar communities in West Virginia not more than one-half of the children had passed beyond the fourth grade. In the hard coal districts, however, the situation had improved and 58.6 per cent had gone beyond the fifth grade. Most of these children can hardly profit from their school training and must limit their ambitions almost exclusively to a life of drudgery and of unskilled manual work.

The observations of school authorities in the large cities have disclosed the fact that children applying for work certificates have reached an average grade attainment of a little beyond the sixth grade. Usually a larger number drop out of the sixth and seventh grades than out of any others.

The recent study of working children in Boston, however, indicates progress.[1] More than one-half of the number had completed the elementary grades and nearly one-fifth had enjoyed some high school training. The gains made in the cities are due largely to more rigid child labor laws and the more effective enforcement of compulsory education laws. To require a definite grade attainment before working papers are granted is beginning to produce results.

4. Wages and Wage Advancement.

The wages of employed children suggest at least three important propositions: the relation of wages to degree of education, the relation of wages to age, and the opportunities for wage advancement. A study of 770 children in St. Louis who left school from the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades indicated that the wages of the child with a fifth-grade preparation on entering industry were practically the same as those of the child from the eighth grade.[2] The more recent study in Boston

[1] U. S. Children's Bureau, *Working Children in Boston*, 1920.

[2] Washington University Studies, Vol. I, Part II, No. 1, October, 1913. *Industrial Opportunities of Children in St. Louis*, p. 80.

gives a slight initial advantage to the better educated child, but a considerable number of these children had some high school discipline. A great change, however, has occurred after the lapse of several years. Then the educated child enjoys a distinct advantage. It appears therefore that the training of the upper grades of the elementary schools does not materially enhance the immediate wage-earning capacity of the children; and this is especially true of those who enter the manual and mechanical pursuits. It also accounts for part of the apathy of parents toward the schools and the education of their children. Education is a much larger factor in determining the character of positions for boys and girls who are over 16, as a greater variety of occupations are open to them. Intellectual ability will then imply promotion and progress.

Age likewise does not guarantee superior positions, since the younger boys earn practically the same wage as the older ones and the minor differences are to a large extent accidental. It is only as age is a measure of physical capacity or endurance that it may gain a slight advantage. Boys in transferring from one position to another find as wide a difference in the wages paid as between those of the younger and the older boys. The fourteen-year-old boy has practically the same opportunities in industry as has the child who is nearly 16; consequently he sees no advantage in remaining at school after he has reached the age of 14.

Age and grade, within limits, are factors of minor importance in determining the opportunities of children. A factor of grave importance consists of the limited field of employment for children, as the positions open are, on the whole, undesirable, afford few opportunities, and pay low wages. The majority of girls in manufacturing and mercantile establishments receive initial wages that range from three to four dollars per week; but boys usually receive from $3.50 to $4.50. Little actual advancement occurs during the first two years of work.

The wages of newsboys in the great majority of cases ap-

proximate twenty-five or thirty cents per day, or about $2.00 per week, the Sunday newspaper proving somewhat more profitable than the daily paper. These returns, however, represent an average of not more than three hours of work per day. An occasional newsboy earns as much as $10.00 per week.

Although adult home workers acquire considerable speed and may therefore earn fair wages, the rate of pay for home work is almost uniformly less than that paid in the factory. This imposes a double hardship on the children engaged in the sweated trades, for they work slowly, and if they receive a low rate of compensation their earnings are pitifully small. Consequently a child working from four to six hours per day usually earns not more than twenty cents, and many children actually fall far below this limit.

The wages of child workers are one of the best indications of a present social maladjustment.

5. Night Work and Overtime.

Night work for children is rapidly dying out. Night shifts in manufacturing establishments do not usually include children, and such night work as now prevails is usually in connection with the messenger service, street trades or clerical service in small stores. The evils more to be feared are long hours, or overtime, the principal occupations in which they persistently remain being the seasonal trades. On account of the necessity of doing the major portion of the year's work within a comparatively short time, these industries engage in overtime during a part of the year and operate on short time during the remainder. Among the trades in which children are largely represented and compelled to work overtime are: the paper-box industry, the confectionery trade, the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables, artificial flower making, toy making, and, to a limited extent, the making of cotton and woolen goods.

The period of overtime extends from a few days, as in some of the mercantile establishments, to three months, as in many

candy factories. The amount of overtime is often excessive, and frequently children are employed 13 or 14 hours per day for three or four days per week. The majority of factories engaging in overtime limit themselves to not more than four nights per week. Although factories sometimes operate till 10 o'clock, and in some instances on Sunday as well, the usual closing time for overtime work is at or before nine P.M. In the cheaper stores in some cities the doors are not closed in the pre-Christmas season until very late in the evening. Here the workers may be employed for at least 14 consecutive hours.

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CHAPTER XX

GENERAL EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR

1. Introduction.

The original opposition to child labor was largely based on humanitarian motives. The horrible conditions which formerly prevailed finally determined sympathetic men to abolish the atrocious system. Shaftesbury, Dickens, and the philanthropists developed the public opinion that investigated the evils of child labor, but the economists at first opposed its abolition on account of the reputed detriment to the industries affected, although later they discovered an economic justification for such legislation. This evolution first took place in England, but in the United States an almost similar development occurred. Here the original attitude toward child labor was the exact opposite of the one held to-day. In estimating the productive capacity of a nation, statesmen such as Hamilton included the labor of children, since this was regarded as entirely legitimate. Why should they not add to the wealth of the country? Furthermore, they would earn a wage that would partly compensate parents for having brought them into existence!

When our manufacturing enterprises began to spring up in the Eastern states, it was generally believed that industry could be made more productive and children more useful by their employment in gainful occupations, especially in the manufacture of textiles. The cotton and woolen mills therefore soon began to swarm with little children called from the farms and small towns of New England. The wages received were absurdly low, but this very fact made the business more profitable to the capitalist! In 1812 many children were

employed at less than a half dollar per week, but by 1832 boys in the cotton mills commonly received $1.75 for a week's work. Our legislators, however, were not interested in the wages of children, their chief concern being with the development of industry. Child labor was a mere means to a justifiable end.

Child labor under the old domestic system had differed essentially from labor in the factory or in the tenements, but this contrast was not appreciated by the early economists or the American statesman of the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were no vital statistics to indicate the general unhealthfulness of cities and industrial centers.

There was little knowledge of average trade life or the injurious effects of premature toil. The requisites for economic survival then were likewise different from those of to-day and child labor was less detrimental to society. A strong impetus was therefore given to the employment of children wherever they could be used. Compulsory education had not yet dawned, and women were denied the opportunity of acquiring any considerable degree of learning, nor was the social necessity of education apparent. Consequently, no impelling motive existed to prevent the child from entering some gainful occupation. Changing social standards have now awakened the American people to the seriousness of the child labor problem.

2. Economic Cost of Child Labor.

The economic disadvantages of child labor are almost self-evident, but the results need to be briefly stated. One of the direct economic effects of child labor is a shortening of the period of trade life, owing to the physical depletion which results from premature labor in factories and workshops. The present conditions of industry are such that the boy who begins to work at an early age will be unable to endure the strain of industry as long as the child not subjected to such labor. Child labor therefore is to be regarded as a cause of inferior physique, and this naturally results in poverty. It is important that such precautionary measures be taken as will offer

the greatest opportunity for an extension of each individual's industrial career.

Again, child labor draws prematurely upon our economic assets, and thus diminishes the amount of available labor power. By employing labor before it is mature an earlier yield upon the investment will be realized, but the human being will be exhausted so much sooner that great harm will have been done and the total trade life will be actually shorter. The economic loss caused by this handicap depends upon two results: the death of the child or the worker in middle life; or his loss of earning power either in childhood or in later life through accidental or physical breakdown. The mortality of children in a number of industries, such as cotton and glass manufacture, is too high, and obviously is caused in part by their employment, although precise statistics on the subject have not yet been gathered. The economic loss due to a higher mortality cannot be replaced. The physiological effects of child labor all operate to lessen the general efficiency of a nation. Where the immediate result to the individual is deformity, stunted physique, or incapacity for hard work, the final effect is uniform—a reduced productive power.

Accident as an economic cost is receiving greater attention as the appalling loss of human life in industry is becoming better known. The child is more prone to accidents than the adult, and will suffer even in industries regarded as comparatively safe, since young boys and girls are naturally careless. Children cannot concentrate their attention on their work, and are therefore frequently the victims of accidents which maim them for life and lessen or destroy their economic capacity. The accident rate for girls has been shown to be especially high. Children are allowed or compelled to tend machines requiring the utmost care of the adult operator; therefore serious injury becomes almost inevitable, and the danger is often the greatest for the very class least capable of declining to accept hazardous employment.

In the recent federal investigation of conditions in the cotton

mills it was found that children were generally employed in the less hazardous occupations and were not required to handle very dangerous machines; still the accident rate in the Southern cotton mills was 48 per cent higher for persons 14 and 15 years of age than for those 16 and over.[1] The accident rate for these children, working among shafts, belts, and gears, was 133 per cent higher than for the older group, and in gear accidents the rate was three and one-third times as high for the younger group! In a similar way a high rate of accidents for children was discovered in a metal trade establishment which employed young boys at the machinery.

Many states have recently enacted laws forbidding the employment of children in certain occupations in which danger from accidents is considerable. Some states have general laws prohibiting the employment of children in dangerous occupations, but do not specify these occupations. Unless the industries are detailed, such laws have but little value.

Child labor prevents the development of efficiency in the worker, owing to his failure to receive proper training and education. The child necessarily enters industry without having acquired a trade education. He therefore joins the ranks of unskilled laborers, and remains the victim of low wages throughout his industrial career. He may be required to perform the routine work of a very simple occupation in which he may acquire remarkable skill and dexterity, and if he has patience, and the monotony is not too oppressive, he may be successful for a time, but his specialization is so extreme that no other employments except those of unskilled labor are open to him in case of sudden dismissal from his occupation. Child labor therefore promotes a division of labor which under our present system has already been carried too far for the best interests of the working classes.

Child labor also means unstable labor. Monotonous work and extreme specialization are inherently contrary to the natural and spontaneous activities of the child, so unless some

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 385-386.

superior coercive force—a parent's insistence, the absolute needs of the child, or some similar force—compels him he will not remain in the same position for more than a very short period. The young child belongs to the floating class of workers, and this is especially true of the boy: yet his need of a definite trade is more urgent than that of the young girl, whose entire industrial career, owing to marriage and subsequent retirement from industry, is limited to about five years. A large proportion of children enter "blind alley" occupations; that is, enter positions that are short-lived and do not lead to promotion. In the large cities and industrial centers a large proportion of the boys enter the factories; next comes the errand and delivery service of the mercantile establishments, and other minor occupations. A small number of children—less than 10 per cent—enter the skilled occupations, the remainder are variously divided between the low-grade and the unskilled industries. A remarkable percentage of the boys, no matter what the industry they may have entered, are required to begin work as mere delivery boys, or they carry bundles, packages, and boxes either from the establishment to the destination or are required to carry them about within the building. This work consists of the merest routine; it does not prepare for any definite trade, and frequently there is no opportunity for an increase of wages, so the child leaves his position for another, usually in the same general industry. This proves to be of the same variety, so he wanders from one job to another. At first he struggles for better conditions, but eventually he becomes discouraged and indulges in long periods of idleness. A habit of irregularity is formed, and unemployment —forced, then voluntary—is a frequent result. This checkered career of the child leads to the conclusion that the years from 14 to 16 as spent in industry are wasted years. Only a limited number of occupations are open to the child with working papers and most of these lead nowhere. The occupations with possibilities ahead are reserved for older workers and persons with experience or training. Employers frequently

establish minimum wage limits for their workers, this being especially true of establishments that demand skilled labor, where in many cases the apprentice must be 16 before he is accepted. Two years of irregular work in industry result principally in instability and indecision.

The untrained child cannot know his own mind and he knows little of opportunities in industry, so he simply drifts along until dire necessity forces him to begin to concentrate his efforts on a single industry. Meanwhile he has lost several years of time, and his opportunity for an education is gone. In fact, when the child has once dropped out of school it is almost impossible to persuade him to return. He soon reaches the limit of his earning capacity and cannot contribute to society the values which would be expected from him if he were trained. Investigations in Massachusetts and also in several large cities indicate that the untrained child suffers an enormous handicap. Although for a short time he may outstrip his trained associate in earning power, this advantage is quickly lost. The latter may gain an indefinite increase of wages or salary, but the former must always remain among the wage-earning class. The net result of the entrance of children into industry is a positive curtailment of the wealth-producing power of the nation.

Without doubt child labor reduces the wages of adults, as boys frequently displace men, and girls displace women. Often there is little or no difference in the character of the work performed, yet the children receive lower wages. The standard rate of wages paid in a certain position is thereby reduced, and in a short time adults competing for these positions are forced to accept reduced wages. In this way families gradually sink below the poverty line, and little children are again driven into the mills to help eke out the family income. It has been shown that in a community in which child labor is prevalent, the family income is not essentially larger than in a locality in which the burden of support rests principally upon the economic head of the family.

3. Social Costs.

The social costs of premature employment cannot be measured quantitatively, but are nevertheless a serious menace to our national welfare. Child labor hardens the boy who has chanced to be successful to the evils of the system. He says it is merely a case of the survival of the fittest, and if so why should not this principle be given an opportunity to separate the worthy from the unworthy? The fallacy lies in a mistaken impression of what constitutes fitness. Accordingly the very men who should be strongest in their advocacy of progressive laws are precisely the men who look backward and do not struggle for the interests of the child of to-day. Prominent railroad officials fail to see the harm in child labor in the messenger service; newspaper men oppose interference with the modern newsboy.

Society suffers because the individuals subjected to child labor cannot realize the full amplitude of their powers. Not only is the loss occasioned an economic disadvantage, but race deterioration is threatened. In addition, the child has no opportunity to develop his full mental powers. A loss results to him in the limitation of his social opportunities, and to society in its failure to receive the best contribution of which the child would have been capable.

Child labor debars the child from acquiring an adequate education, and thus handicaps him in his efficiency as a citizen, as has been shown. Many working children are illiterate; others have so little education that almost no advantage can result. The demands of the state are becoming increasingly urgent, and every reasonable effort should be made to equip every boy and girl for the duties of citizenship. Successful citizenship requires intelligent application of the powers which education develops in the individual, but child labor is a serious bar to this achievement. Unfitness for the social and political life of to-day follows in the wake of child labor, and the citizenship of our country is thereby endangered. Though a small number of children are able to overcome the handicaps of premature child

labor and thereby become natural leaders, comparatively few child workers ever attain to positions of prominence or become factors in directing our civilization, and this will become increasingly true from year to year. The failure to develop capacity means a great social waste.

The curtailment of the earning power of the individual on account of the handicap which child labor imposes results in a relative incapacity to rise in the scale of living. Thus the problem of poverty is accentuated, standards of living fail to rise, and the dependent classes increase in numbers. Without the needed moral, industrial, and trade education, the young worker likewise is unable to use adequate foresight, he cannot coöperate so successfully with others, and the benefits accruing from organized labor cannot be fully realized.

In this connection it is interesting to note that some men have maintained that child labor in the South is a blessing. It is claimed that disease has been lessened and death rates reduced because children have gained the service of physicians in factory towns, whereas medical care in the mountains from which the families migrated was very ineffective. Likewise, the social life of the town is superior to that of the backwoods and a modern mill is much better than the average mountain home. The younger children also can attend school instead of growing up illiterate. This argument is utterly fallacious. We do not right a wrong by substituting one evil condition for another. Furthermore, we create an additional evil—child labor—and blind men to the causes of the conditions in the mountains, while we content ourselves with dealing with a few of the effects, for only a small proportion of the children actually enter the cotton mills. The real upliftment of the people of the mountains is thereby delayed for many years.

4. Moral Effects.

Many of the effects of child labor are demoralizing. Among the occupations in which special temptations abound are newspaper selling, errand and delivery work, and the messenger service. The small boy selling papers on the street easily

degenerates into the beggar, especially if he plies his trade at night, when his artifices meet with a greater degree of success. Practice in begging and in methods of deceit tend to demoralize him and prepare him for the juvenile court. Social workers have long since declaimed against the moral effects of child labor, and have produced evidence relating especially to several occupations which will be discussed later. The federal government has in a more comprehensive manner gathered the data presented in the following table which show the proportion of delinquents among working and non-working children.[1]

CITIES	PROPORTION OF BOYS DELINQUENT		PROPORTION OF GIRLS DELINQUENT	
	Working	Non-Working	Working	Non-Working
Indianapolis	6.67	3.15	1.41	.31
Baltimore	2.87	.66	.51	.02
Boston	15.71	1.46	1.36	.08
Newark	3.74	.89	.28	.04
Philadelphia	1.66	.55	.34	.04
Pittsburg	6.56	1.54	2.47	.14

These figures have value only in so far as working and non-working delinquents are compared with each other in the same city, since the varying administrations of the juvenile courts make comparisons among cities impossible. A glance at the table shows that in every instance the proportion among the working boys is from two to ten times as high as among the non-working boys. Among the girls the disproportion is still more startling, but the number of girl delinquents is so small that the ratios are less reliable than those for boys. However, the investigation showed that, although the number of working girls was less in each of these cities than the number of non-working girls, in every city except Indianapolis the majority of the delinquent girls came from the working group. In fact, for both sexes, taking the cities as a whole, the working children furnished both absolutely and relatively more delinquents than

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VIII, p. 37.

the non-working group. Little difference was indicated in regard to the gravity of the offenses, but it appears that the working group inclines to the more serious offenses, and also contributes the larger proportion of repeating offenders.

The relative delinquency of the two groups is affected by other considerations which may modify the disproportions somewhat. For example, it was shown that broken homes are relatively more numerous among working than among non-working children, yet home environment was superior among the former group, while nationality, nativity, and age were influences of doubtful tendency. The fact of work seems to predominate decidedly in producing the differences—a conclusion especially indicated from the proportion of offenders engaged in certain occupations.

Investigation has shown that a vast majority of the newsboys are not compelled to enter industry to maintain livelihood, but do so because of the attractions and adventures of the business, and for the sake of the spending money acquired. In many cities the newsboy does not hesitate to take risks in the pursuit of his trade, and frequently he visits the haunts of vice and himself becomes infected with serious disease. He becomes acquainted with bad women, is made callous to degrading sights, and is often thoroughly prepared for a career of vice and crime, so that many vicious young men acquire their bad habits from their experience as newsboys. In a large industrial school it was ascertained that of the newsboys who were inmates, one-third were suffering from disease caused by immorality, and that the newsboys were considerably below the normal standards of stature and weight. In Dallas, Texas, newsboys furnish two and three-fourths times their normal proportion of juvenile delinquency, and in New York City out of 614 working boy delinquents nearly one-fifth were newsboys, or several times their normal quota. Bootblacks and other street traders were also numerously represented.

Employees in the messenger service are specially subject to the pernicious influences of the immoral districts of the city.

They are often compelled to deliver messages at unreasonable hours and in localities which are clearly demoralizing and they therefore form close associations with vice. There is a large percentage of juvenile delinquency among the members of the messenger service, and in many reformatories for boys the representatives of this occupation are altogether too numerous. The girl employed in this service suffers from the greatest moral temptations, but the recognition of this fact has prompted some of the states to prohibit the employment of girls as messengers unless they are at least 18 years of age. In several states similar attempts to save the boys have been made by prohibiting them from entering any questionable resort to which they may be compelled to carry messages—provisions, however, that have but little deterring power. Conditions are being somewhat improved by prohibiting persons under 21 years of age from working in the messenger service at night.

Some of the street trades also lend themselves to the opportunity for gaming, and as the newsboy and the bootblack enjoy a large amount of leisure, they become active participants in these questionable games. Shooting craps, throwing dice, and other games develop the gambling instinct in the boys of the street, and as a consequence the pennies earned through the work of the day are often lost again through the petty gambling in which they engage. This loss, however, is less serious than the permanent injury to their character and the inculcation of the baser instincts.

The errand and delivery boys are engaged in very irregular work, which frequently involves excellent opportunities for stealing small articles or money, and the associations are also likely to be demoralizing. As in the case of the street trades, the boys are not subject to regular supervision—a fact which conduces to their downfall.

Domestic service provides the largest percentage of delinquent working girls, this being due partly to the opportunity for petty larceny which this occupation provides and partly to the lack of protection against immorality. Frequently members

of the family are the guilty parties, but more often the girls are led astray by the men they meet in their search for pleasure and recreation. The domestic suffers from loneliness and lacks opportunities for companionship and for making friends. Consequently she seeks pleasure in doubtful places; hence the large amount of immorality.

The figures presented by the federal government throw much light on the importance of various occupations as causative factors of juvenile delinquency. The following table based on statistics for 1466 working boys and 202 working girls shows the percentage of each sex engaged in the occupations furnishing the largest number of delinquents.[1]

PERCENTAGE OF WORKING DELINQUENTS ENGAGED IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS

INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION	PER CENT OF TOTAL DELINQUENT WORKING BOYS	INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION	PER CENT OF TOTAL DELINQUENT WORKING GIRLS
Newsboys	21.83	Domestic service	53.95
Errand boys	17.80	Textile, hosiery, and knit goods	12.36
Drivers and helpers	7.30	Stores and markets	5.44
Stores and markets	4.23	Clothing makers	4.95
Messengers	2.59	Candy	4.45
Bootblacks	1.77	Laundry	1.98
Other occupations	44.48	Other occupations	16.87

A further study of 2416 delinquent boys showed that 1176, or 48.6 per cent, when last employed were engaged in one of six occupations, which ranked in importance as follows:

Delivery and errand boys	20.3 per cent
Newsboys and bootblacks	18.6 per cent
Office boys	1.9 per cent
Street vendors	2.7 per cent
Telegraph messengers	3.0 per cent
Amusement resorts	2.1 per cent

The large proportion of errand boys is due to the numbers in this occupation, but the actual rate of delinquency is much

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VIII, p. 9 ff.

higher among the newsboys. It is further shown that 58.6 per cent of the working delinquents under 12 come from the ranks of the newsboys, and that four-fifths of this group have been engaged in one of these six occupations, although the entire number of working delinquents has been drawn from over fifty occupations. Yet these are precisely the occupations which recruit a large proportion of the boys when they enter industry. While they do not remain, is it not possible that they are profoundly influenced thereby? In conclusion it is evident that those occupations which do not admit of easy supervision by employers are responsible for the largest proportion of juvenile delinquency. Working children will not develop morally and spiritually unless subjected to wholesome discipline, and if they are inclined to be wayward, the street trades and delivery service will prove specially demoralizing. In this respect the boy or girl in factory or workshop has an immense advantage because the restraints imposed by employers are rigid and certainly tend to induce regularity, industry, and obedience.

In considering the moral effects of child labor, it is necessary to discriminate among occupations and is advisable not to make a universal charge against industry. Labor is not intrinsically demoralizing, but rather the converse. Delinquency comes both from within and without, and the external causes must be thought of largely in terms of contacts and associations. However, long hours and overwork tend to result in excesses and the break-down of restraints. Often the contact of the child with adult workers proves demoralizing. The young susceptible easily-led individual suffers and acquires habits and modes of conduct that lead inevitably to his downfall. Profanity, lasciviousness, smoking and even drinking are among the habits formed. The blunting of sensibilities which such pernicious contacts effect can only leave the mind morally distorted, and without the anchor of a good home or morals-saving church to aid him many a child succumbs to these influences which, although not an indispensable feature of his occupation, nevertheless generally accompany it. The prohibition of child labor

after a certain evening hour is justified not only as a measure for safeguarding the worker against a long day, but also as a means of protecting morals and virtue. The need in this respect is even more urgent for the girl than for the boy. It is she who runs the gauntlet of curious eyes and provoking familiarities; who becomes sophisticated and loses moral reserve.

In extenuation of the evil effects of child labor it can justly be urged that in some cases at least, the child has been taken from a bad street environment or has come from a most degraded home in the mountains, and has been placed under discipline in the factory. Child labor is a school of training to the extent that it may occasionally place a child in a situation where degrading influences are less aggressive than they would otherwise be. Even this slight extenuation cannot in any sense apply to the street trades.

Society should not allow either the opportunity for mischievous associations or the child labor which sometimes becomes the substitute. More education, more parks and playgrounds and better homes, not more child labor, are the remedies for the bad influences of the street.

5. Physiological Aspects of Child Labor.

a. Need of Good Physique.

The bad effect upon bodily growth and physical development is one of the most important objections to child labor. Society must attempt to make the individual capable of self-support, and cannot afford to incapacitate him by forcing him into premature employment. Should he break down, he becomes a public charge, and the state must expend its energies to maintain him. The interests of society therefore demand men and women of physical vigor, capable of a normal trade life, and every effort should be made to develop the child into a strong, healthy person.

In childhood the foundation is laid for strength, vigor, and general healthfulness. Activity is the keynote of this development, but this does not imply that the work of the factory will

furnish the needed exercise. On the contrary, this is exactly what the factory fails to accomplish, for the reason that the operations are of such a character that a one-sided development is produced and the work is not usually carried on under the best conditions. The vigorous man requires a symmetrical development, and this can be secured only by combining the use of all the five hundred muscles of the body. The self-chosen activities of the child are a better means of providing the necessary exercise than are the monotonous operations of the factory, and whatever interferes with his needed play-time, be it work, school, or sickness, handicaps him in his proper development. By means of play, exercise, outdoor sports, and other similar activities, the child develops brain, nerves, and muscles, promotes a good circulation of the blood, and compels nature to provide a strong and adequate physical structure. Industrial capacity depends upon this development.

The need of strong men and women in industry is greater than ever before because the domestic system did not sap the energies of men as does the strain of modern labor. Certain diseases, such as apoplexy, heart disease, and Bright's disease, are increasing their proportion of fatalities, and extreme longevity is becoming less common. Furthermore, the stress of the factory and workshop shortens the trade life of thousands of laborers, and provision must be made for them in their old age. After the age of forty-five the individual who has not established himself, or who loses his position, has extreme difficulty in again adjusting himself favorably in the industrial system. Some firms will not engage the services of any new man who has attained this age, although they will retain their own employees indefinitely. Voluntary pension systems are springing up to care for many in their old age, but in not a few cases the aged are asked to resign. A significant movement has recently taken place in teaching circles, and many large universities have made sixty-five the age limit for their professors, at which age they are expected to resign. The trade life of the ordinary worker is, however, much shorter than that of those

engaged in professional work, and the average child worker may be expected to join the former class of laborers. There is a large group of confessedly dangerous trades, besides many others which slowly undermine the strength and vitality of the worker. So many industrial operations are carried on under abnormal conditions that physical vigor is necessary to counteract the effects. Formerly outdoor work preponderated; today a large amount of all work is carried on indoors, where atmospheric conditions are almost inevitably devitalizing. Great powers of endurance are necessary to withstand the consequences of work in our iron and steel foundries, smelting works, machine-making factories, and workshops of similar character. Unless workers are physically stronger than men formerly were, they cannot remain at work as many years. The occupational disease laws that are being enacted in many states are a recognition of the fact that the sanitary conditions of many of our industrial establishments need radical improvement and that workers are suffering from the lead dust, the chemicals, poisons, gases, and the various injurious dusts that they encounter. Important as is the need of insisting on wholesome and sanitary workshops, it is still more important to prepare each person with a physique capable of withstanding the conditions of factory life.

The newly arrived foreigner is physically incapable of performing the work done by the American laborer. Not until he becomes accustomed to the muscle-producing food used here, can he compete with native-born laborers. Although European people differ among themselves as to the amount of work performed in a given day, this difference largely disappears when representatives of these races consume similar quantities and the same quality of American foods.

b. Effect of Premature Employment.

During the period of its growth the body of the child is more or less plastic. Susceptibility to external impressions, and the long years of plasticity, make the highest development possible, but under untoward circumstances may cause the individual's

ruin. At the age of puberty the body undergoes a considerable transformation, and injuries often leave permanent effects. The boy is harmed through improper development, but the girl suffers more severely from the effects of unnatural activities at this period, and overstrain is especially dangerous. The muscles are easily affected at about the thirteenth year, as it is the period of their hardening, and excessive strain may produce a tension which will prove permanently injurious. The child may become dwarfed or stunted; if so, almost unlimited effort will be required to induce development in later years. As indicated in a previous chapter, the physical decline of large numbers of the English people is in part due to child labor. The working child tends to become anæmic, and the various organs of his body receive insufficient nourishment. Muscles in certain parts of the body are overdeveloped, while others, owing to their weakness and lack of exercise, fail to develop. Child labor does not occasion a symmetrical development of the body, but leads to physical deformity because of the excessive use of certain organs. An abnormal amount of nervousness exists among young women workers, due largely to premature overstrain. Work, as carried on in modern industry, cannot perform the beneficent function of play.

c. Incidental Results of Child Labor.

Certain specific conditions of child labor are specially harmful, such as the constant standing to which many children are subjected. And in some industries girls are compelled to stand for hours at a time—a tension which frequently is the cause of much harm, in that it produces lateral curvature of the spine as well as flat foot and varicose veins. An abnormal strain is also placed on certain muscles, and many girls become victims of pelvic disorders which interfere with their capacity for maternity. In the candy and paper box factories, as well as in many textile mills, standing is common, while in stores small girls are almost invariably on their feet, although moving to and fro. The bundle wrappers often stand in one spot all day. Some observations among employees in mercantile establish-

ments have brought out the fact that varicose veins are most common among the girls, and that this is especially true of the ones that have been employed for a considerable time. Constant sitting is nearly as laborious and tiresome as standing, and it frequently involves a cramped position which injures the lungs and prevents the full and free development of the chest. The workers subjected to these conditions are very susceptible to the various lung diseases, and especially to tuberculosis. The cramped position which constant sitting necessitates also tends to deform the growing child; in fact, a constant position of any kind is very tiresome, and a change rests the overworked muscles and brings a new set into play. In this way the fatigue resulting from work can be reduced to a minimum.

d. Unhealthful Occupations.

Some occupations are by nature injurious to the worker, and especially to the plastic child. These are usually found in industries in which a large amount of dust is formed. The boys working in the breakers of our coal mines are continually compelled to breathe the black dust in which they are enveloped. In a short time their lungs are so filled with dust that they turn completely black, and the constant presence of this foreign substance undoubtedly interferes with the free function of the lungs and retards the full development of the child. Many stunted and unreasonably small boys are found at work in the coal regions of Pennsylvania.

In the textile mills, lint and dust are continually flying about, and the best establishments cannot entirely escape the presence of these substances. Artificial methods of allaying the dust and of minimizing the diffusion of lint throughout the air have accomplished much toward producing an unpolluted atmosphere. The cotton lint may be indiscernible in the air, but its presence is indicated by a deposit of the substance upon stationary objects. The air is breathed by the children, the lint penetrates to the lungs, and can with difficulty be thrown off by them, and therefore the child is bound to suffer physically from this admittedly injurious substance. The weakening of the lungs

renders these children specially liable to attacks of tuberculosis. The initial processes in the manufacture of goods from flax and hemp occasion a vast quantity of dust, and much of the preliminary work is done by children. Often the workers are surrounded by a cloud of dust which irritates the throat and bronchial tubes. The wool dust is especially harmful, but recent industrial improvements in the better grade of mills have greatly diminished its deleterious consequences.

The dust of the tobacco leaf is injurious, because it contains a poisonous substance. A large number of children are found in tobacco factories in the North and the South, and the work usually requires the constant breathing of this poisonous fume. The principal effects of the dust on the child are the development of nervous affections and of nausea, the latter condition resulting more frequently among girls than among boys. A predisposition to disease is also developed, and even adults suffer from the effects of work in tobacco factories, many of which are most unsanitary, this being especially true of the smaller shops, where the underaged child is so frequently found. Injurious dusts are common in mills of various kinds, and in all cases the child suffers more severely than the adult worker because of physical immaturity. The constant inhalation of dust or poisonous substances is insidious in its effects, and many persons finally succumb to diseases that have been induced or contracted thereby.

Rapid variations in temperature produce baneful consequences. Such changes are common in the glasshouses in which boys are frequently employed, some of whom work close by the furnaces, and are continually subjected to the fierce heat, while others run to and fro, and thus alternate between currents of hot and moderate air. The excessive heat, the cooler air, and the drafts combine to undermine the health of the boys. In some factories, such as confectionery establishments, certain rooms are heated or cooled to specific temperatures, and the child does his work at that constant temperature. The cool rooms are the more unhealthful, as the girl employed does not

usually exercise the necessary precautions required to protect her against the cold, and the change from one level of temperature to another is likewise fraught with dangers. Many textile mills are overheated and produce debilitating effects, and the majority of laundries are necessarily warmer than the outside air. Children cannot escape the heat of the laundry, and the dislike of many employees to allow the drafts to handicap them in their work often results in insufficient ventilation. In the summer months frequent faintings occur on account of the heat, both children and young women suffering from this misfortune, but fans and ventilators in the better class of laundries now diminish the harmful effects of excessive heat. Overexertion in the heat of glasshouses or laundries is an especial danger of the summer months, yet many laundries operate a longer day during the summer than during the cooler months.

Moisture is another cause of physical discomfort. Dr. Sewall, in her investigations, found barefooted girls in some of the flax-spinning rooms, while in others the girls wore rubbers to protect themselves from the wet floors.[1] In bleacheries, half-naked boys were trampling cloth in deep vats, and in the bottling department of one brewery the boys wore rubber boots, while in another wooden shoes were used. In some laundries the moisture is drawn off by means of hoods, and thus the bad effect of steam is mitigated.

Aside from the tobacco industry, few children are engaged in occupations bringing them in contact with very poisonous substances. The extreme susceptibility of the child to such substances has generally kept child labor from these industries. Boys are occasionally found in dyehouses or in establishments where dyeing forms one of the occupations. Various kinds of coloring matter are used in making artificial flowers, also in certain processes in textile mills. In some enameling works the use of lead is an unhealthful element; in others varnish and paint combine to injure the young child. In many trades chil-

[1] United States Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 52. "Child Labor in the United States."

dren suffer severely from accidents resulting from their natural carelessness. It is true that many times children do not appear to be injured from factory life, but are nevertheless physically affected and later reap the results. The children who engage in the street trades lead a very irregular life, with injurious consequences to body and physique, and because of the early hours when newspapers are sold, boys begin their work without breakfasts. Again, they are found on the streets in the late afternoon and evening. Consequently these boys are irregular in their meals, while many of them subsist on inferior foods and confections bought while they are at work. The late hours of work in many cities are an additional cause of the physical depletion of the boys. Failure to grow and to acquire proper strength are among the observed consequences, as well as anæmia and indigestion.

The physical effects of home or sweatshop work cannot be distinguished from the consequences of life in the unsanitary homes in which much of the work is carried on. Nevertheless, by toiling away for hours and late into the evening the children making artificial flowers, white underwear, men's clothing, and paper boxes consume the time allotted for play and recreation and lose their opportunities for proper physical development.

e. Effect of Night Work.

The physiological disadvantage of night work is far greater than that of employment during the day. Whatever may be urged against day work applies with greater emphasis to night work,—this being particularly true in regard to indoor occupations. The night work which takes the form of overtime is harmful because of the long hours which are usually involved. In this case the injurious effects are serious because recovery from extreme exhaustion is proportionally more difficult than from ordinary weariness. The bad effect of long hours is cumulative. The first obstacle which the night worker encounters is the difficulty of habituating himself to the change, night work not being in accordance with the wish of nature. The individual profits most by using the night for purposes of sleep, as day-

light does not lend itself to effective rest, for the air is full of noises, and boys cannot entirely isolate themselves from all disturbing influences. Because they cannot sleep they are out again by noon, engaged in play or sport. Some time must elapse before the child can train himself to sleep sufficiently during the day to meet his needs, and where the same child alternates weekly between day and night shifts, as he is usually required to do, time is not given to adjust himself to the ever-changing conditions. Therefore his physical energy is slowly sapped, and injurious results follow. Night work also invariably involves the use of artificial light, and confinement to its use is measurably harmful. The custom in some factories of operating only part of the night results in turning the factory hands out in the very middle of the night, and the change for the young boys is often distinctly unfavorable. The child who works at night is generally less efficient than the child who works an equal number of hours during the daytime. This inefficiency is a sign of the physical handicaps of such work. The abandonment of night work by many manufacturing establishments is in part due to the recognition of its inherent disadvantages, and the enactment of laws forbidding child labor in the factories at night is a further indication of this point of view.

f. Summary.

The emphasis which is being increasingly placed upon good physique, and the growing need of this qualification, demonstrate the importance of the consideration of the physiological effects of child labor. For in this phase of the problem lies much of the rationale of stringent child labor laws. Premature employment during the day or employment at night paves the way for those physical disabilities which result in an early incapacity for self-support, or in excesses of divers kinds which hasten the breakdown of the individual. The conservation of energy and the production of the best types of physical vigor are inexorably necessary in the complicated civilization of today. Both economic and social conditions require high standards of physique, and a vigorous manhood and womanhood

must be maintained at all hazards. The prohibition of child labor is one important step in this direction.

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CHAPTER XXI

CHILD LABOR REFORM

Two lines of attack are necessary if child labor is to be abolished: first, constructive work to eliminate the causes; second, repressive legislation. In actual practice it has been easier to pass laws than to remove the root causes of child labor. Unless this is done, however, the laws cannot be entirely effectual. Consequently the positive side of the problem must receive more attention than heretofore. The child labor reformers, both in England and in the United States, have spent the bulk of their efforts in obtaining legislation, largely because no other way of solving the problem was in evidence. Recently, however, they have begun to emphasize the constructive movements which if successful will make child labor unnecessary.

1. Constructive Effort.

Possibly the most important form of positive legislation is compulsory education, which has by some been called the best child labor law. Keep children in school until they are 14 and they cannot work at the same time except as newsboys and in the minor occupations. Besides being required to attend school the child should have the opportunity to acquire a really useful education—one that will fit him for his life work. Again society has emphasized the less essential thing—compulsory education—and has not given adequate thought to compulsory training for social efficiency. One reason for this is that we do not know what constitutes the best educational program and are still groping about for information. If schools can give children systematic instruction which will save several years of wasted time in industry as well as offer a definite line of work,

school life will become more interesting, children will want to attend, and parents will be less ready to withdraw their children from school. A very important consideration then in solving the child labor problem is to provide adequate educational facilities and require children to attend school. In fact, a program which will train the child adequately for his life work will probably consume his time up to the sixteenth year and thus eliminate child labor by simply crowding it out of existence.

In the second place poverty must be attacked with additional vigor. The children of the well-to-do are not found in industry; only those enter who are poor or in moderate circumstances. As long as poverty pinches so long the child of 14 will be forced into the gainful occupations. A precarious plane of living with many conveniences and comforts almost within reach is a great inducement to child labor. The efficiency and wages of adult labor must be increased so as to allow a reasonable surplus of income over expenditure and yet make decent living possible. Not only poverty but near-poverty must be reduced to eliminate child labor.

The development of ideals is a third consideration. Parents must become more foresighted and more anxious to prepare their children for life. They need to learn that the future, not the present, should dominate their attitude toward the child. Ignorance is a frequent cause of the failure of parents to do justice to their children. Tradition and custom are powerful factors as well as a feeling of irresponsibility for the family obligations incurred. Finally, the selfishness of parents, which leads them to sacrifice their children for the sake of their own comfort and pleasure, is a far-reaching evil. When parents feed on the proceeds earned by their underaged and untrained children, new ideals are necessary. How best to teach parents to safeguard the permanent interests of their children is an unsolved question, but unless they have better hopes and higher ideals than had their forefathers, no progress will have been made.

2. Legislation.

A perfect child labor law is not even a theoretical possibility, for in a dynamic society no absolute adjustment to conditions can be made. The prevailing standard age limit is an arbitrary one; for example, in England children from 14 to 16 are included among "young persons." A law must therefore be suitably revised from time to time to meet the new conditions that arise. The recent industrial history of Europe and of the United States illustrates this fact, for the laws of to-day are so radical that they could not even have been considered fifty years ago. Yet few, if any, American child labor laws are really socially adequate at the present time. The increasing complexity of our social relations, the changing requisites for social and industrial survival, and the ethical necessity of adapting ourselves to the needs of the day demand a rapid evolution in appropriate legislation. Existing laws will probably be considered quite inadequate within a shorter time than has elapsed since the first serious attempts to enact child labor laws were made.

a. Agencies supporting Legislation.

The majority of the recent child labor laws of the different states have been enacted since 1895. Before that time the principal legislation against the employment of children related to certain dangerous and immoral occupations. In point of time we have lagged far behind Great Britain, but our progress has been more rapid, and some of our states have excellent laws that are far superior to those of Great Britain. The rapid development of industry has accentuated the problem, consequently private organizations have advocated a program of remedial legislation and with favorable results. The most efficient societies of this kind have been the child labor committees. The National Child Labor Committee was organized in 1904 and has carried its propaganda into every state in which the problem has needed attention. Its work consists of investigating the conditions of child labor, of educating the public through pamphlets, public addresses, etc., and of trying to se-

cure child labor legislation, especially in the states most in need of better laws. It has therefore redoubled its efforts in the Southern states. In many of the states local child labor committees assist the national organization in its untiring fight for better legislation, much of the recent progress being due to the efforts of these private societies.

Good legislation has been fostered by other agencies, notably labor unions, women's trade union leagues, consumers' leagues, women's clubs of various kinds, miscellaneous associations, and state labor bureaus. The consumers' leagues of the United States, through their method of organizing consumers and of insisting on the manufacture and sale of products under good labor conditions, can be made a powerful factor in raising the standards of public opinion. In fact, the National Consumers' League has been a most influential agency in obtaining better laws for children and women. State labor bureaus have in a number of instances drafted bills for presentation to the state legislatures, and have had considerable success in securing their passage. Unfortunately they have not always stood for the best and most modern legislation, and therefore the results of their efforts have not been sufficiently favorable. Even the manufacturers have in several cases passed resolutions favoring some restrictions on child labor, and have thus imposed higher standards upon themselves. The creation of sentiment and the enactment of satisfactory child labor laws depend largely upon the work of special organizations.

b. Uniformity of Laws.

A serious handicap to adequate legislation in the United States is the right of each state to enact its own child labor laws. As a natural consequence we find a variety of laws, a condition which enables the employers affected by proposed legislation to threaten to abandon the states in which their establishments are located and to continue business elsewhere. State selfishness and the desire to build up local interests are forces of such magnitude that the state hesitates to enact legislation which may drive capital from within its borders. With

free trade among our states, uniform laws are necessary to render industry stable. So far each state has acted independently, hence child labor laws have not been highly effective.

Our states' rights in this respect are very unfortunate. Most European countries are able to legislate for the entire nation, therefore the various sections have little excuse for opposing proposed legislation. In the United States there is no possibility of uniform laws through separate state action, for no matter how often representatives of the various states may meet and decide upon a standard child labor bill, the states will each enact a law modified to meet the wishes of the dominating forces in that state. Furthermore, the reform forces will not have exactly the same program in each state and the proportionate emphasis on child labor laws will not be uniform. The formulation of a standard bill has, however, tended to unify the efforts of friends of reform and will do much toward securing uniformity in the laws.

The federal government, which ought to establish standards, has been negligent in its legislation against child labor. Although it has supreme control of the District of Columbia, it is only after many years of effort that a good child labor law has been enacted. The government should long since have passed a model law which the states could have advantageously copied. Uniformity of law can best be secured by a federal enactment applying to the entire United States, and a bill introduced in the fifty-ninth Congress provided that interstate commerce in products in the manufacture of which children under 14 years of age participated, should be illegal. Other provisions of the bill related to the employment of children between 14 and 16; the limitation of a day's work to 8 hours and the prohibition of work after 7 P. M. The opponents of the law claimed that it was unconstitutional, while its friends defended it on the ground of the right of the federal government to regulate interstate commerce. The bill became law in 1916 and began to operate the following year. The task of enforcement was delegated to the Children's Bureau which made careful prepara-

tions for this work and proceeded cooperatively with the state officials. However in 1918 the law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. A new effort was then made, and a law passed in 1919 imposing a tax on the profits of mines and manufacturing establishments employing children under conditions similar to those outlawed by the previous legislation. This law was classified as a revenue measure and enforced by the appropriate federal agency. However enforcement costing $90,000 netted less than $3,000 in revenue. In 1922 the Supreme Court also declared the law unconstitutional, thereby ending for the time being efforts in behalf of federal legislation. The latest step is of an entirely different character and consists of the development of sentiment in favor of a constitutional amendment empowering Congress to regulate child labor. Meanwhile the federal government is powerless to improve child labor conditions.

c. A Standard Law.

A model child labor law for all time cannot be proposed. Every law should be subject to revision when occasion demands, and no piece of legislation must be allowed to become sacred. Several important requisites, however, are fundamental in an acceptable law. Among these are: first, the law must be clear and distinct in its meaning, so as to permit of but one interpretation; confusion in this respect is often a ground for its non-enforcement; second, it must be enforceable and machinery of enforcement must be provided; unless the law can be applied in an expedient manner and properly enforced, its very presence on the statute books may prove harmful; third, the law must conform to the requirements of the social interests which are involved. A new plane of ideals will have been established, and the ethical progress evidenced in the law can then be generalized. Minimum standards for children entering employment were established in 1919 at the Child Welfare Conference held under the auspices of the Federal Children's Bureau.

The principal standards accepted are the following:

An age minimum of 16 should be established for all occupations except for agriculture and domestic service during vacation when children of 14 may be employed.

The minimum for work about mines and quarries should be 18 and for night messenger service, 21.

Minors should not be employed in dangerous occupations.

Minors should not work more than 8 hours per day nor after 6 P. M.

No child should be granted a work certificate unless he has been previously examined by a qualified physician and found to be healthy and normally developed.

There should be full-time school attendance up to 16.

Children between 16 and 18 who have not finished the eighth grade or are not regularly employed should attend a full-time school; those who have finished should attend a continuation school 8 hours per week.

No employment certificate should be issued until the following information has been secured:

(1) Documentary proof of child's age.
(2) Evidence that child has completed eighth grade.
(3) Evidence of physical fitness.
(4) Promise of employment.

The certificate should be sent to the employer.

The minimum wage principle should be applied.

There should be a central agency to serve as vocational counsellor to assist in placement and to supervise workers.

The enforcement of all child labor laws should be vested in one and the same department.

These standards do not set an unattainable ideal. Nevertheless they are as a whole far beyond the realization of present legislation, although a few states have enacted some of the principles involved. They should serve as a guide or goal, eventually to be reached, with some of the states more able to proceed rapidly than others. The states with advanced laws usually have had a long history of industrial development or

have been swayed by a group of persistent progressives who are constantly challenging the "status quo."

d. Age Limits.

One of the most important considerations in a child labor law is the age limit below which work is prohibited. Reformers at first had to face the problem of tiny children at work and when England began to concern itself with child labor reform, five year old children were found working in the factories, and slightly older ones had been thrust into the mines. In the United States the worst forms of abuse have never existed, but nevertheless serious conditions have come to light.

Age limits are raised gradually and the presence of small children in industry usually prevents drastic legislation, consequently supplementary laws must be passed from time to time. The proper minimum age limit in any state varies with changing social and industrial conditions. In the United States the fourteenth birthday is still the generally accepted age limit. Although age does not determine physical and industrial efficiency and the proper educational requirements, it has become a convenient method of guessing at the qualifications of a child for gainful employment. Age is not so fundamental as fitness, but the difficulty of developing refined methods of measuring the latter has made the establishment of the age limit the most important provision of a child labor law. How far the states are from the acceptance of these standards appears in part in the following discussion of the actual legislative situation in the United States.

In 1922, 38 states had adopted a 14 year limit for employment in factories and mines; 1 state fixed the age at 12 for boys; 5 had a 15 year limit; 2 fixed it at 16 and 2 had no minimum restriction. In some states these age limits are not made to apply to labor in mercantile establishments, although the tendency is distinctly in the direction of the more sweeping laws. In some states children of 12 are allowed to work in certain occupations during the summer vacations, a practice that needs to be carefully watched. In several states poverty

exemptions for children over 12 are allowed, but this feature of the laws is being stricken out, particularly as the mothers' pension movement gains headway. The street trades are gradually being subjected to regulation, but they will be discussed in a later section. A regular provision of law usually requires an employment certificate for children under 16 who are allowed to work. This guards against the introduction of persons under the minimum age limit and protects the child who enters some employment.

e. Physical Qualifications.

Education and physical development should determine the eligibility for an employment certificate. These are basic conditions, since the physical effects of premature child labor form one of the chief arguments against the system. No child should be allowed to work unless he can meet the standard physical requirements, and if children are not of normal weight and stature careful medical examination should determine whether they are likely to suffer because of physical incapacity. Standards must be developed so comparisons can be made. So far state laws have not designated any standards, contenting themselves with the usually meaningless provision that children must be physically fit. Actual physical examination is now required by the laws of 22 states, while in eight others the official granting the employment certificates is authorized to ask for the physical examination of the applicant if he considers him of doubtful health and strength.

The health department of New York City makes examinations of applicants for work certificates. It has established a standard of four feet, eight inches in height, and eighty pounds in weight, but exceptions are made in the case of several short immigrant races, if after careful examination the child is found to be normally developed. More than 40,000 applicants are passed on every year. Each set of officials has been forced to develop its own physical standards, but the Children's Bureau in 1921 published the report of a committee appointed to formulate standards of normal development. The committee

recognized the need of further study, but nevertheless ventured to suggest that a child of 14 should weigh 80 pounds (in clothing) and measure 58 inches; a child of 15, 85 pounds and 58 inches and of 16 should weigh 90 pounds and measure 59 inches. Provision is also made for children falling below this standard and it is suggested that no work certificates be granted to children not showing definite signs of puberty. The standards furthermore demand that certificates be refused to children suffering from a series of defects or diseases, 12 of which are catalogued, and that pending the removal of the defect certificates be withheld in the case of certain remediable defects, ten of which are enumerated. The committee recommended further that provisional certificates be granted for a period not exceeding three months to children who were being treated for their defects.

In the large cities two agencies are available for the examinations of applicants—the health bureaus and the boards of education. If the working papers are granted by the educational authorities, and they make medical and physical examinations of the school children, then they should also apply the physical tests to the applicants for working papers. Under other conditions it will be better to require the bureau of health to do the work, and in the smaller towns the task will undoubtedly fall upon the health authorities.

f. Educational Requirements.

The step from the school to the mill is seldom retraced, and the child gains his later knowledge entirely in the school of experience. Compulsory education until the child may enter the gainful occupations is, of course, necessary, but this again is not the vital point involved. The child does not need the record of a certain number of years in school, he does need a record of attainment or of work accomplished. The usual type of educational requirement simply demands school attendance and perhaps a record of a full year of such attendance immediately previous to the application for working papers. But even such wholesome legislation does not guarantee that a

child will have completed the fourth or the eighth grade. In some states the number of weeks of attendance required is deplorably small, and where poverty exemptions are allowed the child is necessarily excused from school attendance.

A second type of legislative provision requires all children before they enter industry to have acquired a certain amount of education. In 1922, 11 states required children to have completed the eighth grade in order to obtain a working certificate, but in five of these certain exceptions were allowed. In New York for example a sixth grade attainment was permitted for a child of 15. Such a law attempts to open the way for the backward and retarded. In Washington the state law requires children in cities where continuation schools have been established to have completed the eighth grade if under 15, but no grade requirements are made for children above this age. In several states the grade requirements are lower, but in most of them no definite grade is stated. Some states demand a knowledge of reading, writing and simple arithmetic up to and including fractions; many make no requirements whatsoever.

A common requirement in state law consists of the provision that children above the compulsory attendance limit but under 16 shall attend school, if they are not regularly employed; that is, they are not allowed to remain idle. Although this is a wholesome feature, little attention has been paid to its enforcement. When working papers have been secured the child is usually forgotten by the school authorities, and he may not even begin work. In some of the large cities, however, methods of keeping in touch with children of working age are being devised. An additional attempt to provide a certain amount of actual training for the child consists in the requirement that children holding work certificates shall attend a continuation school.

The war gave a great impetus to such legislation and more than half of the states have laws providing for continuation schools. Several of these, however, have made no attempt to establish them. A typical law is that of Missouri which pro-

vides that working children from 14 to 16 if grade school graduates must attend such schools when they are established and if not graduates, but from 16 to 18, attendance is also compulsory. Children are expected to attend such classes from four to eight hours per week.

The plan of compelling working children to supplement their education by attending evening schools has proved a hardship to many children who could not undergo the strain that work both during the day and at night involved. The continuation school is proving a superior substitute, because it does not increase the hours of work and it does enable the child to pursue studies which will enhance his working efficiency.

g. Hours of Labor.

The shorter working day is making rapid strides in the United States. In 1922, 33 states had an eight hour day for children in factories, and most of these also apply the same limit to work in stores and in mines. The remaining states allow a longer day, six of them still adhering to a ten hour limit, and several allowing this to be exceeded. In some states, especially in the East, the number of hours allowed per week requires a shorter day on Saturday or a shortening of the regular working day. For example, Delaware allows ten hours per day but not more than 54 per week in factories, which amounts to an average of nine per day. The present tendency is distinctly in favor of substituting the eight hour day and 48 hour week for the ten hour day.

Many of the states now fix the limits within which the day's work must be done. In New York, for example, with an eight hour day in factory work, the hours of the children must fall between 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. and time for lunch must also be allowed. Children found at work outside of these hours are considered to be violating the law regardless of the number of hours they have been employed. Such regulations facilitate the enforcement of law, but give the employer no opportunity to adapt the labor to his needs. Illinois is an example of another method. Here the day's work of eight hours may be

done between 7 A.M. and 7 P.M. When leeway such as this is allowed, the enforcement of law becomes more difficult, in spite of the requirement that employers post the schedule of hours and furnish a copy to the bureau of factory inspection. Few factories observe this requirement in full, and the number of inspectors is usually insufficient to detect the violations.

An eight hour day is quite reasonable, and it should be applied to every form of child labor, mercantile establishments needing the restriction quite as much as factories. Underground work, however, requires the most stringent regulations.

h. Night Work.

Night work is injurious to the child and should be prevented. In the industries frequently exempted from child labor laws, such as the canning and preserving industry, a considerable amount of night work prevails. Legislation limiting the work of children to daylight hours is a powerful factor in the prevention of night work for all. The dangers of late hours are being so rapidly recognized that laws on this subject are becoming popular, and 43 states now have some regulations affecting night work.

Thirty-four states prohibit children under sixteen from night work in factories and stores. The closing hours for the day work, however, are not uniform and range from six to eight P.M. Several states permit an even later hour to make up for accidents or lost time and five have no prohibitions whatsoever. Some of these, however, are largely agricultural.

The opposition to laws prohibiting night work has in some states come largely from powerful employing interests with the consequence that a law when enacted is often afflicted with amendments of a character that nullify its operation in respect to particular industries.

New York has enacted an advanced law which prohibits all persons under 21 years of age from engaging in carrying messages between the hours of 10 P.M and 5 A.M. In addition to laws prohibiting the night work of children in this industry, higher age limits for entering it are also being demanded.

i. Working Papers.

The purpose of requiring all children between 14 and 16 years of age to obtain working papers is to guard against the admission of applicants who are not suitably equipped to begin a career as wage earners. A permit when granted should contain satisfactory evidence in regard to the age, education, and physical condition of the child. Proof of age should depend largely upon certificates of birth and baptism, supplemented by the records of the school which the applicant has attended. The statement of the parent is not sufficient in itself, as perjury is not uncommon in the localities where only the affidavit of parents is necessary to obtain certificates. In such places a sort of traffic in working papers is carried on and often the same paper descends from one member of the family to another. Children frequently lie about their age; for no matter how small the boy or how tiny the girl, on inquiry the interrogator learns that the child is 14 years of age! In several states the affidavit of the parents is accepted as sufficient evidence of the age of the child.

In Texas and Wyoming no regular certificate is required although in the former state temporary permits are issued. The North Carolina law permits the state child welfare commission to prescribe the conditions under which the certificate may be issued. A number of states do not include stores among the occupations for which the ordinary certificate is obtained. In other states there is ambiguity. Faults in law such as these naturally lead to child labor under unfavorable conditions.

Apart from the affidavit system, several methods of granting working papers are in operation in the different states. The certificates may be granted by the school authorities, by factory inspectors, by boards of health, or by judges of county, municipal, or juvenile courts. Most of the states which require written proof of the age of the child place the duty of granting certificates in the hands of the school authorities. The very efficient laws of Illinois and Massachusetts make this provision. School records are usually faithful and reliable sources of in-

formation, although the direct record of the birth of the child, if that can be procured, is a still safer proof of age. In New York the papers must be signed by an official of the board of health, who shall not approve them unless a properly signed school record of the child has been filed, as well as a record of his birth or baptism. In default of the latter the affidavit of the parent must accompany the evidence. The school record must show a specified amount of school attendance during the fourteenth year of the child and a certain educational standing. A certificate of physical fitness is required, and the child must appear in person before the officer granting the working papers. This complex system makes the issuing of papers to underaged children almost impossible.

In several states the factory inspectors were formerly authorized to issue the certificates. In Wisconsin this right has been transferred to the Industrial Commission and to local judges; in Missouri to the school authorities. Few states now cling to the old method. In a number of states local judges and magistrates are empowered to grant papers, and when this is the case the affidavit of the parent is usually the only information required. For this reason considerable objection has been made to this policy, which is now being superseded by vesting the power in the school authorities.

Much depends on the method used in granting working papers. The application desk is the place where the first sifting occurs, and if well done many children will be rejected and required to improve their minds and bodies before they venture into the gainful occupations. The consensus of opinion now favors placing the task upon the board of education, because more intensive work will be done and fewer unqualified children allowed to receive certificates.

j. Dangerous Trades.

Some industries are relatively more dangerous than others, and from these in many states children are excluded by law. No children or minors should be allowed to enter any occupation which is dangerous to life, limb, health, or morals of such

persons. The moral and physiological plasticity of the child is a source of danger when exposure to bad conditions takes place, and certain trades should therefore be specifically forbidden to all persons below the age indicated. Among such trades are the following groups: first, occupations in which dangerous machinery is used, for the young boy or girl is much more liable to serious accident on account of the absence of caution and judgment. Second, occupations which require the use of poisonous acids, paints, colors, or injurious chemicals, such as white lead, phosphorus, and others. Third, occupations which place the safety and security of others in the hands of the worker; for example, the operation of passenger elevators, and equally important occupations connected with the mining industry. Fourth, occupations which are likely to affect the morals of the person such as the occupations which occasion contact with houses of ill fame, and the manufacture of goods produced for immoral purposes.

Fifth, occupations which are considered unhealthful and which will lead to occupational disease. The age limit for work in these occupations cannot be fixed arbitrarily but must be made to depend on special investigation and subsequent decision by the proper state officials. Where the hazard is considerable no minors should be employed.

The ordinary blanket laws which refer to dangerous and unhealthful occupations, without specifying the particular occupation or industry, have no value whatsoever, and are not enforced. Our legislation should therefore be patterned after the English law, which places power in the hands of the proper officials to determine whether an occupation is dangerous or not. Our states have begun this method of procedure. In Massachusetts the board of labor and industries is authorized to investigate occupations and declare them dangerous or injurious, and persons under 18 may be prohibited from employment in these occupations. In Oklahoma the commissioner of labor may determine what occupations not forbidden by statute may be open to children between 14 and 16, while in Mis-

souri this may be done by the state factory inspector. In New York this power is vested in the industrial commission and the law applies to children and young persons under the age of eighteen years. A special department is authorized to make appropriate studies and investigations. It would be well for each state to establish some system of medical inspection and to suggest methods of improvement. Probably the number of unhealthful occupations could in this way be reduced, and undoubtedly it would be of great value to working children, because the best of laws are too lenient.

k. Industries Exempted.

Usually child labor laws have not been applied to certain industries of which, owing to its peculiar conditions, agriculture is the most conspicuous example. The reasons for its exemption are so valid that they need no further discussion. Domestic service is also usually excluded, although the argument in favor of this policy is hardly tenable, since many abuses have arisen in connection with this occupation, and some form of regulation has become desirable.

A most serious factor in industry is the problem of perishable goods. These include various fruits and vegetables in preparation for preserving and canning, certain kinds of confectionery, fresh oysters, and other products of minor importance. The canning and preserving industry, however, is the chief manufacturing industry which in some states is granted exemption from the provisions of the law. The exemptions are of several varieties: the absolute exemption of the industry from the operation of the child labor law; the right to use child labor in the sheds where no machinery is used, on the theory that this is quasi-agricultural labor; and the waiving of the regular age limit for children during the vacation season, or, as in Indiana, for four full months. These exemptions are allowed partly because of the close relation of the industry to agriculture, but largely because of the reputed perishable nature of the product.

English experience shows that insistence on the regulation of

seasonal industries has resulted in a most remarkable degree of conformity to the limitations imposed. Many of the long hours and much of the night work were found unnecessary. In the United States, likewise, many industries formerly very irregular in their operations have become standardized and reduced to definite hours of work.

A large group of industries are more or less seasonal in their nature, and the goods produced are commercially perishable if not subject to physical deterioration. Straw hats of a certain style cannot be carried over much longer than goods that are physically perishable; Christmas novelties are valueless after the holidays, etc. The exemption of one industry will tend to open the way for the escape of another, and in a short time our entire code of labor laws will be in jeopardy. Human values are more important than mere property, and should therefore receive proper recognition.

Many of the states do not include retail stores among the industries in which child labor is prohibited. In the small towns this is hardly a problem, but in the large cities much exploitation of children is possible if restraining laws do not exist. Many stores are open one or more evenings per week, and consequently children are forced to work long hours on certain days, especially on Saturdays and throughout the pre-holiday season in December. The states which regulate work in these establishments do not all insist on conformity to the laws throughout the year, but several of them allow overtime or late hours for a definite period shortly before Christmas; that is, make exemptions for the Christmas season. The number of days on which the law was suspended formerly varied from 4 to 20 but exemptions are now usually limited to one week. This is precisely the time of the year when children in mercantile establishments are subjected to the most exhausting work and are in special need of shorter hours. Many young girls collapse during this season, and consequently lose a portion of their working time. Under no conditions should the child labor law be suspended during the holiday season. The

health of the child is too valuable to be sacrificed; furthermore, early shopping should make long hours during the rush season unnecessary.

l. Street Trades Legislation.

It is considered necessary to legislate separately in regard to the street trades since the ordinary law does not apply to them. Newsboys are, by some, considered as merchants instead of employees. Until recently they practically escaped legislation, but in 1922 eighteen states had regulations applying to all or part of the state. The New York law applies to cities of the first, second, and third class, and excludes boys under 12 and girls under 16 from street trades. Boys under 16 are required to secure a license or permit, which is issued by the school authorities. It must show that the boy is able to work as a newsboy, is regular in school attendance, and of the required age. A badge, which he is expected to wear, is also given when the permit is granted. The enforcement of the law rests with the police and the truant officers, and parents may be punished for contributing to the delinquency of their children.

Massachusetts authorizes its local school boards to control the employment of children under 14 in the cities. In Boston no boys under 12 may sell papers, nor may boys under 14 sell after 8 P.M. The school committee has developed an elaborate set of rules pertaining to the wearing of a badge, showing badge to officer, surrender on demand of officer, regular school attendance, etc. The law is enforced by the supervisor of street trades, who is under the direction of the school authorities. This method has operated very successfully.

The Wisconsin law regulates the occupation up to 17 and prohibits newspaper-selling by boys under 12. The issuance of permits was transferred in 1913 from the state factory inspector to the board of education. Applications for permits must be signed by the parent or guardian of the child.

A number of cities handle the problem through municipal action or ordinance; for example, in St. Louis girls under 16 were prohibited from selling papers by police order. If the

regulations are made by the cities, state officials cannot be used to enforce the law. This, however, is hardly a handicap, inasmuch as enforcement will in any case rest with one or all of three groups of officials; the police, attendance officers, and probation officers, but on the whole, street trade laws—state or municipal—have suffered from non-enforcement. Unless boys who violate the law are considered delinquent, and neglectful parents are penalized and some body of officials is definitely instructed to enforce the law, it will do little good to enact legislation on the subject. Best results are secured by placing the administration of the law in the hands of the school officials. Regulations relating to bootblacks have been made very similar to those affecting newsboys, but there is a tendency to impose a higher age limit.

m. Minimum Wage Legislation.

The development of minimum wage legislation will no doubt affect both the standards of family life and the amount and efficiency of child labor. Since 1912, 13 states and the District of Columbia enacted minimum wage laws. In two states the law was repealed and in the District of Columbia it was declared unconstitutional. In most states where such legislation has been enacted both women and minors are included under its provisions. Whatever be the ultimate fate of the legislation for women, there is little doubt but that the constitutionality of such laws for minors will be upheld. It is evident that the wages of child workers will become one of the important matters of consideration by the various minimum wage boards or commissions, and that the pitifully small wages will be raised. In fact, many establishments have already, under the pressure of the publicity connected with the recent investigations, voluntarily increased the wages of the children in their employ. Such action will increase the desire of children to enter industry. The more likely result, however, of the establishment of minimum wage rates will be a reduction in the number of child workers and the substitution of adults. Such a readjustment is eminently desirable and will force upon

the child the necessity of preparing himself sufficiently to enable him to earn the minimum rate fixed for the different industries.

3. Enforcement of Law.

In regard to the enforcement of child labor laws a wide diversity of method prevails. The principal agencies intrusted with this task are: state industrial commissions, departments of labor, bureaus of factory inspection, the police, and boards of health. In addition truant and attendance officers, and sometimes probation officers, aid in enforcing the law. In the more populous manufacturing states the departments of labor are usually composed of subdivisions, of which the bureau of factory inspection forms one branch, but sometimes the latter is made a separate department. In either case, the enforcement of law rests with the factory inspection organization.

The states are gradually merging the bureaus that are closely allied in their work. Among the forms of reorganization is the creation of a state industrial commission. Wisconsin and New York are conspicuous examples of this development. In both of these states the child labor law is enforced, except that in New York in the smaller towns jurisdiction still remains with the boards of health, through departments of the commission. In Massachusetts, the enforcing body consists of the board of labor and industries and in Pennsylvania jurisdiction has been conferred on a similar body. A much greater degree of efficiency is being obtained through organizations of these types. Several states have a special child labor inspection force.

A few states empower the school officials to enforce the law against child labor, and in a considerable number of states truant officers are authorized to assist the other inspectors. These officials, however, aim primarily to compel school attendance rather than to prevent child labor. In several Southern states, especially those in which the child labor problem is a serious one, the provisions for law enforcement are extremely inadequate.

It must not be forgotten, however, that a long time has been necessary to bring about competent organization for the enforcement of child labor and factory laws in the industrial states of the North. The evolution of legislation is likely to proceed even more rapidly in those states in which industrial enterprises are of recent origin. With extensive violations of law in the states where enforcement is most successful, what must be the condition in states having little means of enforcing the law!

Few if any of the states possess an adequate corps of inspectors. New York has legal provision for at least 125 factory inspectors and for 20 mercantile inspectors. This number is not sufficient for the work; nevertheless it greatly exceeds the number provided in any of the other states and the proportions are also greater. So far but faint effort has been made to obtain the proper ratio of inspectors to the amount of work to be done.

A number of states now require a limited number of women on their inspection force, many persons holding that women will detect certain violations more easily than men and are more efficient in observing conditions relating to the employment of children; also that a higher quality of woman than of man can be secured for the salary paid. Medical inspection, which is needed so badly, is still in its infancy, although a number of states have made a beginning.

Again the New York law is a helpful guide. It provides for a section of medical inspection charged with the duty of inspecting factories and mercantile establishments with respect to the health of employees and of examining and supervising the children at work.

With insufficient inspectors the law is violated. In many states four or five years are necessary for the inspectors to cover every establishment once, and in no state are there enough inspectors to visit all factories and workshops more than once during the year. Yet adequate inspection requires at least two visits, and probably more. Again the enforce-

ment of child labor laws is usually only one of many functions performed by the inspector. Frequently this portion of his task is passed over hurriedly, and sometimes the neglect is intentional.

Efficient inspection depends in part upon the good faith and ideals of the chief factory inspector, and the energy with which violations of the law are prosecuted. Such prosecutions must become deterrent influences. In those states in which the cost to the employer of a violation of the law has been inconsiderable, efficient enforcement has been difficult or impossible. Frequently the employer has reduced his policy to a financial basis. Having discovered that he can violate law for a certain time at a very moderate cost and that the advantage to him of the violation is greater than the cost in fines, he defies the factory inspectors and refuses to obey the law. In some cases coöperation between the employer and the factory inspectors for the enforcement of the law has been followed by the refusal to prosecute firms for the illegal employment of children, on the promise that the violation would not be repeated. This method can be successful only when a real interest is evinced by the employer of child labor and when failure to comply with the demands of the inspector is followed by prosecution. The courts also are a considerable factor, since in some localities it is almost impossible to persuade the judge that violations should be punished. Unsocial courts and judges are a great handicap to the enforcement of factory laws.

Competent officials selected through civil service examinations are badly needed, and the lack of these has been a severe setback to real progress. The chief offices are usually political plums, and frequently the men appointed know as much about their duties as they do of domestic science. Factory inspection must be rescued from partisan politics and placed on a merit basis, but good officials cannot be procured unless an adequate salary is paid for their services and a professional career is opened to them as is the case in Germany. Strong

men cannot afford to accept poorly paid and uncertain positions.

In formulating child labor laws, legislators should be guarded by the fundamental principles which are involved. The social interests demand that such a protection of children be assured as to guarantee to an oncoming generation a physical, mental, and moral capacity which will enable it to meet successfully all social and industrial conditions.

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PART V

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

CHAPTER XXII

CAUSES AND NATURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

1. Evolution of the "Juvenile Delinquent."

The attitude of society toward the juvenile delinquent has undergone a fundamental change within a few decades. Part of this change is due to revulsion against the treatment formerly accorded to children, who were not fully responsible for the offenses which they committed. The court trial in Philadelphia of a little child of eight years was the beginning of the juvenile court movement in that city. A few years ago a boy of eleven in the state of Iowa was sentenced to imprisonment for life on the charge of murder! Hundreds of little children have been thrown into jail in company with vile adult criminals, and in England little children were formerly sentenced to death for offenses too petty even to justify the mildest forms of probationary treatment at the present time. In 1833 a boy of nine was sentenced to death for stealing a little paint. The penalty was not inflicted but the principle remains the same. In Chicago boys were confined with the men, and as late as 1899 boys were sent to the John Worthy School to work out fines at fifty cents per day.

The delinquent child suffered from the older or classical theory of crime. A particular offense, quite apart from the motives that prompted it, was punishable with a definite penalty, and individuals were punished for the crime they committed, not because they were criminals. At first no discrimination was made between persons guilty of similar offenses, but later extenuating circumstances were recognized. Furthermore, it was held that every person, regardless of age, was fully responsible morally for the offense committed. The little

child had, it was thought, as keen a sense of right and wrong as had the adult—an equal knowledge of what constitutes an infraction of the law. This atrocious doctrine has been entirely overthrown, for recent child psychology clearly demonstrates that the morals of children are a development. Parents, home, and community are each partly responsible for their children's morals. Children are plastic in mind and body and their moral standards are changeable.

It is difficult to determine the exact age when full moral responsibility should be demanded. In fact, this should depend upon mental rather than physiological age. The boy of twenty with the mind of a boy of twelve should not be treated as an adult, yet in the face of this psychological principle, juvenile delinquency refers legally to individuals under a certain age. Until recently no adequate psychological test has been available. The age limit now established differs among the various states. In about 17 states it has been raised to 18 years, but the next largest number still retain the original limit of 16 years. Several states, however, have increased it to 17 years.

The term "delinquent" has been slowly expanding in meaning so as to include not only deliberate acts which would be punished if committed by adults, but also wayward tendencies of a serious character. Delinquency should refer to an attitude of mind and of morals rather than to the commission of some particular offense. It is necessary to reach the embryo delinquent—the prospective criminal—and in many cases it is already too late when the boy is brought into the juvenile court. Accordingly, we find laws such as the Colorado law which includes under "delinquents" persons of certain age who are guilty of such offenses as the following: violation of any law of the state or any city or village ordinance; incorrigibility; association with immoral persons; knowingly visiting houses of ill repute, or gambling houses of any description; visiting saloons; wandering aimlessly about the streets at night or about railway yards; the use of vile and obscene language;

immoral conduct; jumping on moving trains, etc. This law covers almost every species of conduct which is likely to result in law-breaking and criminality, and it can be used to exercise preventive control over the child. In this way it is possible to reach him before he actually becomes so wayward that reform is impossible. Although in some cases the legal meaning of delinquency is still confined to direct violation of law, the more progressive states in the revision of their juvenile court laws or in the enactment of new laws are quite universally following the pattern of law described above. Effective work depends upon the legal right to direct and control the prospective offender.

2. Moral Classification of Children.

The juvenile court idea depends upon the recently developed consciousness that the child is less in need of reformation than he is of the formation and fixation of character. A little habit forming is much better than much character reforming. The teachings of recent psychology and ethics have forced the acceptance of the theory that conscience is developmental; therefore, the problem of the child becomes one of constructive effort, not of repression after vicious tendencies have developed.

Youthful misdeeds are recognized to be largely the result of the environmental influences which continually impress themselves upon the child. The development of the child divides itself into three quite distinct periods. The first eight years of life form one period, and many children of this age, if not immoral, are at least unsocial, but their delinquency is almost wholly due to the neglect of their moral education by their parents, and they should be treated as neglected persons. The delinquent child at this age is no worse in his fundamental proclivities than the child who is merely neglected, and therefore different treatment is not necessary. A full knowledge of the underlying causes of the difficulty will shift the burden of the blame to the parents. There is but little difference between the delinquent and the neglected child of this age.

During the age period—nine to thirteen years—several characteristic traits of childhood appear. Many of the instinctive actions of earlier life have vanished. The child, however, has not yet learned to correlate cause and effect. He is still deficient in prudence and foresight, and to a large degree unconscious of the effects of his acts on others. He is self-centered, his morals are still in process of development, and he is very susceptible to external impressions. The formation of habit proceeds at a very rapid pace during this period, and the moral habits are of special importance because they later develop into the morals peculiar to adolescence. The religious bias is also imparted during this period and the child becomes more truthful.

The period of life including the years from 12 or 13 to 17 is marked by the practical completion of habit formation, and trains the child for success or failure. This period witnesses the culmination of fundamental physiological and psychological changes while the child arrives at puberty and endures many physical and emotional disturbances. It is significant that the religious impulse is strongest in this period, and that conversions are most numerous. Starbuck has well shown the incidence of emotionalism both for boys and girls, and his observations suggest the importance of properly harnessing this psychical energy. The religious impulse also has its counterpart in the wayward and criminal instincts of the boy. Many boys manifest an incorrigibility which, unless properly directed, will lead to absolute criminality. Rapid growth and the failure of the child to understand himself lead to moral aberrations which require the most careful treatment, affect the mental equilibrium of the youth, and influence the attitude of the two sexes toward each other.

3. Conditions underlying Juvenile Delinquency.

a. Changing Social Conditions.

A fruitful cause of juvenile delinquency consists of the changing social conditions which make individual acts, harmless in themselves, a menace to society. The exuberant spirits

of the boy must find expression in activity and excitement, and suppression is not possible. The numerous contacts of the city require a limitation of individual activity, since thoughtless acts which are entirely justifiable and even desirable in the country districts may be a constant danger to property in the city. Accordingly, a series of city ordinances have been enacted which condemn and prohibit such acts. Playing ball is not inherently a punishable offense, but to obstruct the streets or to endanger other persons who are using the street is distinctly anti-social, and is therefore prohibited by city ordinances. Persons may be injured, windows broken, and runaways caused by such sports conducted on the streets. Many boys are brought into some juvenile courts for offenses not more serious than playing ball. The highly valued bonfire belongs to the same category. Few boys can restrain themselves at the sight of a fire, and an even greater thrill follows their participation in a bonfire scene. The social needs of to-day therefore interdict acts which boys have for centuries been allowed to do, and as boy nature has not changed, many offenses are committed which the self-centered and thoughtless boy does without malice or deliberation. The Philadelphia girl of eight who set fire to a house did so to see the fire and the fire engines, not to commit arson. If children, instead of being cooped up in treeless and flowerless slums, had opportunities of touching nature and of using up their pent-up energies in parks and playgrounds and in other wholesome ways, they would not insist on committing acts that jeopardize the public. The boy who uses the streets for play is not more criminal than the community which declines to furnish him with proper play facilities. Change of law does not change child nature, but changed conditions require new adjustments.

b. Home Conditions.

The incompetency of parents is a prolific source of juvenile delinquency, for the home environment is the most potent factor contributing to the formation of character and habit.

The force of social heredity, comprising the ideals, morals, religious impulses, teaching, discipline, order, personal habits, and superstition of the parents, overpowers the child by its almost irresistible momentum. Profane parents have profane children. If the father lies, the son will not be truthful. If the mother is not moral, how can we expect the daughter to be! Parents who are irreligious will find that their children scoff at religion. Slovenly parents raise careless children. A large proportion of the child's habits are formed before he is ten, and during this time the one constant factor in his training is the environment of the home.

A recent development in the home, especially the native American home, is the too liberal abandonment of the discipline and subordination of the child. We are not ready for any principle of self-control which allows the child to decide according to his own likes and dislikes, to obey or disobey, as he chooses, to work out his moral code on the basis of his own personal experience. The brutal corporal punishment of old has given way in many cases to soft effeminate indulgence by parents of the idlest humors of their children. Thus selfish and imperious instincts develop at the expense of altruism and obedience, and parents are unable to develop appropriate moral and social traits in their children. The children dominate and subdue instead of being molded into moral shape by their parents. If they were mentally mature, they should be permitted to enjoy complete self-direction; but they are not, and unless subjected to the proper restrictions and discipline, they will fail to reach the full level of human moral attainment. Why should not the experiences of parents be used to guide and limit the tendencies of children? Corporal punishment, although often undesirable, cannot be totally abandoned either in the home or in the school, except at the cost of moral development. The growing protest against its total abolition is not without significance. Is it not surprising that native-born children of native-born parents should form so large a percentage of the total delinquency in our large

cities? We are not yet ready for exclusive control by moral suasion. Another striking instance of the importance of discipline in the home is furnished by the high rate of juvenile delinquency among the native-born children of immigrants. These children are sent to our public schools, where they learn English and mingle with American children. In a short time they have become somewhat veneered with American civilization. Then they suddenly awake to the apparent discrepancy between the culture of their parents and that of the native American. A break then occurs in the home because the parents have lost control over their children. They are considered mere ignoramuses and are practically without influence. The environment of the street soon weakens the morals of the child, who finally is brought into the juvenile court. With the discipline of the home gone, the child easily succumbs to the other influences that surround him.

Parents are also to blame for their failure to recognize that the life of to-day requires different treatment of the child than did the conditions of their own youth. What may have been permissible then is anti-social now. The energy of the child must be allowed to express itself, but this does not authorize unbridled and ruthless methods which are a menace to life and property. The great majority of children expend their enthusiasm in harmless ways, and yet reap all the advantages which such excesses afford. Too many parents have so little regard for the rights of others that it is little wonder that young boys become ruffians and bullies. While conditions have changed, so have parents. When properly taught, children will exhibit a marvelous amount of respect, but it is easy to make them incorrigible. Fathers are, in many instances, actually or apparently so busy that they do not have time, or take time, to make friends and comrades of their sons, although a little effort expended in this direction profoundly affects the boy, who is ready to make a hero of his father, if he is only given the opportunity.

That dishonesty and petty larceny is a result of the failure

of parents to provide their children with a reasonable amount of spending money is amply demonstrated. Boys engaged in the street trades usually enjoy small sums of money, but this is often spent in improper ways. The difficulty of entering street life without money tempts the boy to steal and dispose of the goods. The first step taken, stealing becomes a habit, and can with difficulty be checked. Many boys who have entered some gainful occupation are compelled to bring home the entire wage and are denied the use of the smallest portion. Investigations have shown that a large percentage of boys do not report to their parents the increase in wages which they receive. The difference between the original and the later wage represents the boy's spending money. Dishonest habits are thus ingrained in the moral fiber of the young boy; yet such habits are the natural result of the parents' failure to allow him any spending money from his hard-earned wage.

The broken home is probably the most important single proximate cause of delinquency. There is convincing evidence of the need of the refining and chastening influence of the home. Homes are broken up in many ways, of which the most important are the death of one or both parents, desertion, and divorce. The last two causes are also results and imply delinquencies among parents, and these furnish additional reasons for the waywardness of children. Many homes are broken by death, and orphan children often are left without adequate care, many being brought into courts—a much larger number than their proportion in the community. The half-orphans are more numerous, however. A majority of these have lost their fathers, while the mothers are still alive. In many cases the surviving parent marries again, but the step-parent cannot take the place of the deceased. Accordingly, the children in such a home frequently suffer from neglect and drift into delinquency. The following figures are very significant: Out of 10,000 delinquent children concerning whom the parental conditions were known, and who entered the St. Louis courts during the years 1916-1920, 51.9 per cent

had both parents living together, 11.5 per cent had parents separated or divorced, 25.5 per cent were orphans or half-orphans, and the remainder, or 11.1 per cent, lived in homes where step-parents had been introduced. In all, 48.1 per cent of the children did not live in normal homes. More cases of delinquency were reported from homes where the child lived with the surviving mother than where the father had survived. Probably the control of the father is superior to that of the mother. On the other hand, widows are more numerous than widowers.

The federal government, in its investigation of child wage-earners, threw light on this problem, as is shown in the following statistics.[1]

PARENTAL CONDITION OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

PARENTAL CONDITIONS	PERCENTAGE OF DELINQUENT BOYS			PERCENTAGE OF DELINQUENT GIRLS		
	Working	Non-Working	Total	Working	Non-Working	Total
Normal	54.6	61.1	57.5	32.2	37.7	34.2
Half-orphan	25.2	23.2	24.3	28.8	26.5	27.9
Step-parents	9.2	7.5	8.5	11.7	17.2	13.6
One or both parents living away, orphaned, or deserted	11.0	8.2	9.7	27.3	18.6	24.3
Total number	2412	1852	4264	351	204	555

It will be noticed that but little more than one-third of the girls came from normal homes and that a very large proportion were orphaned or deserted. On the other hand, the table shows that out of 4264 delinquent boys, 57.5 per cent came from normal homes and only 42.5 per cent from homes broken by death, desertion, or separation. But for both boys and girls the proportion living under abnormal home conditions is so large that the magnitude of the problem can hardly be overestimated.

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VIII, p. 53.

Homes broken by divorce or separation lose much of their moral control. Ellwood in a study of state schools for delinquent children discovered that the proportion of children coming from homes broken through one of these causes ranged from 25 to 35 per cent. These figures, of course, relate to the most serious types of juvenile delinquents and yield an average in excess of that prevailing among delinquent children generally.

A very unfortunate form of incomplete home is that of the illegitimate child. The father is generally absent and the child lives with the mother, or with relatives or strangers. The usual environment of the illegitimate child conduces directly to criminality. Frequently the mother is neglectful or at least neglected the child in his earlier years when habit formation began. The child accordingly fails to develop respect for his mother and gradually becomes wayward and insubordinate. And the boy being particularly in need of the guidance of a male parent loses the benefit of the advice, control and service which a father alone can give.

Neglect of the home is a frequent result of the drinking habit or of the indolence and indifference of the father. These attributes are easily transmitted to the child, whose vagrant instincts need only the slightest encouragement. Parental begging and stealing leave intricate traces on the minds of children, and confirm them in a life of idleness and crime. The child caught in an environment of this sort and accustomed to wrong and debased standards can with difficulty recover from the coercion of social heredity.

Vicious homes are also important factors. A large number of fathers are intemperate and set a bad example for their children; also many are brutal and beat other members of the family. The boys in the home become rough, unruly, revengeful, and cruel, while many run away from home and become Bohemian in habit, and incorrigible in morals. The criminal father practically forces his child into crime. Many men are irregular in their work and consequently do not provide ade-

quately for the family wants. Children soon absorb their parents' faults, and if mothers are immoral, daughters must be handled by the courts. When children acquire bad habits and commit petty offenses, frequently parents overlook or encourage the delinquency, so when the boy steals coal, the parents burn it; and when the child begs, the father does not interfere. Boys frequently organize marauding expeditions and are actually encouraged by their parents, and thus a career of crime is begun.

Cruel forms of punishment produce delinquencies. Vicious whippings of the young child harden him and keep him from responding properly to the chastening effects of properly administered punishment. Many immigrant parents in this way develop a spirit of defiance in their children. A bad home environment will produce criminal tendencies which are often falsely considered instinctive, but which are really due to cruelty and abuse. Deliberate neglect throws the child on his own responsibility, and his undeveloped moral sense leads to his downfall. The native child of the immigrant also suffers from the inability of his parents to guide him aright. They do not understand America and its temptations and possibilities of crime and corruption, so they cannot protect their children from demoralizing influences.

In Indianapolis a study of the apparent causes of delinquency credited lack of parental care with 42 per cent, bad associations with 20, criminal tendency with 5, and miscellaneous causes with the remainder. Usually, of course, several causes cooperate to produce the results.

c. Environment and Associations.

The environment of the boy outside of the home and the character of his associates leave their definite prints upon his moral nature, and are a large factor in producing delinquents. The child who must spend a considerable portion of his time upon the streets faces many temptations. His parents have not sufficiently warned him against the pitfalls to be encountered, and the child, because of lack of self-restraint, speedily

succumbs to the influence of his bad associations. More than three-fourths of all offenses are committed in the evening before eleven o'clock. Darkness and evil companions may complete the demoralization of a boy, and one plotter or mischief-maker will ruin an entire "gang." It is here that the pick-pocket develops and the petty thief. It is owing to his street associations that the boy's actions degenerate into disorderly conduct, disturbance of the peace, and often into the ruthless and wanton destruction of property. The bad boy is ever present, and degrades his less resolute associates. The opportunities for legitimate sport are meager; hence a greater readiness to indulge in the forbidden pleasures. The energies of the boy result in spontaneous boys' clubs conducted in forbidden places and under most unwholesome conditions. Such clubs are the natural development of the organization of the street gang, and their work is equally wanton and mischievous. The many fruitless attempts of court officers to reform boys placed on probation in their natural surroundings are an eloquent witness to the inexorable influence of a bad environment.

The native instincts of the boy, molded by the environment of the home, result in several classes of delinquent children after exposure to the associations outside the home. There are the morally weak who easily yield to temptation but who had no initial bias to do wrong. Their minds are open to suggestions of good or evil, and easily yield to vicious influences, but in another environment they would have escaped all moral taint. Another group of children are in the heroic age; for example, the vagrant child who glories in remaining away from home and in sleeping in box cars and sheds. He delights in the joy of numerous escapades, but he is becoming the criminal of adventure. His roving nature transforms him into the professional tramp. He willfully throws stones with injurious intent; he attempts to derail cars and play pranks of a serious nature; and he outwits the teacher and the attendance officer. If his adventure could be made wholesome, if

his hero worship could be made inspiring, then all this wasted energy would be used in developing the boy. Again we find children vicious and impulsive, strong minded and incorrigible, demoralized at home and made criminal by the unrestrained associations elsewhere. They are the ones who will commit serious offenses, organize gangs of delinquents, and begin a career of crime. It is most difficult to reform them because criminal tendencies have become so deep-rooted.

In the cities many boys frequent places where liquor is illegally sold and learn to drink. Besides, the use of tobacco is almost universal among delinquent boys. This habit has usually been acquired on the streets, and helps to undermine the child's morals. The opportunity for gambling and the playing of vicious games also frequently presents itself, and thus the boy rapidly becomes incorrigible.

The environment of the girl is more wholesome, but the insidious influences that undermine her are more thorough and leave very serious consequences. Partly because of low morals in the home, but largely because of ignorance and low ideals taught elsewhere, delinquent girls are in a large proportion of cases sexually immoral. Out of over 3,000 girls heard in the Chicago Juvenile Court in the years 1915-19, 43.9 per cent were brought in because of immorality and nearly as many for incorrigibility, which is very often a mere euphemism for the former charge.

d. Criminal Tendencies.

In spite of the theory that the child of the juvenile courts is in need of formation instead of reformation, it is plainly apparent that a considerable number of children have acquired criminal tendencies. To what extent these are due to natural and inherited traits and instincts and what importance shall be attached to the contagion of an early vicious environment are still unsolved questions. Instances of moral perverts are sufficiently numerous. Persons are born with the innate tendency to develop into full-fledged criminals. Boys who have not suffered from the slightest suggestion of larceny have de-

generated into thieves, thus indicating that their criminality was instinctive. Many children commit serious crimes such as murder, assault, and arson, with no compunction of conscience, the manner of committing the crimes being usually suggested by some experiences of their lives. It is probable, however, but scientifically undetermined, that the majority of apparently degenerate children are indebted for their delinquency to the influence of parents and the vicious surroundings of their earliest youth. Many of these children are precocious, and form habits and tendencies sooner than is usual. It has been estimated that physical heredity is responsible for about 10 per cent of all delinquents.

e. Retardation and Defectiveness.

Many delinquent boys are seriously retarded in their education. Such figures as juvenile courts have collected all indicate that the average grade attainment of delinquent children is considerably below the normal, and investigators conclude that a large number are feeble-minded. Wallin has collected the results of tests made in many institutions and finds that the percentage of feeble-mindedness apparently varies from about five per cent to over ninety.[1] Such variations, of course, indicate that there is a greater lack of uniformity in measuring intelligence than in the intelligence itself. Nevertheless even the most conservative students find an abnormal number of defectives among the population of institutions for juvenile delinquents. The great majority have little practical education, and most of them have not learned to appreciate the meaning of education and therefore are more easily swayed by sinister influences.

The wise application of the recently developed intelligence tests promises to give good results as to the general backwardness of delinquents. It will gradually result in a classification of causes of backwardness and defectiveness and will, to some extent at least, reveal the fundamental physical, racial, and environmental factors involved. Mental defectiveness is a prom-

[1] Wallin, J. E. W., *Problems of Subnormality*, pp. 110 ff.

inent cause of delinquency among girls. Such defectiveness, however, must not be confused with hereditary criminality.

The defective girl has a very immature mind, and easily becomes the prey of immoral men; nevertheless it is not criminal tendency but mental weakness that is responsible for this misfortune. How much of this retardation and defectiveness is due to innate defects, and how much to antiquated and impractical methods of education, remains to be learned. At any rate, mental defectiveness does not imply moral defectiveness, but the weak-minded child is easily influenced by an unfavorable environment.

Physical defects also play a part. Especially is this true of adenoids, which is very common, being found among more than 10 per cent of the children in the public schools. It affects the brain, causing the mind to become sluggish and inactive, and frequently perverting the morals. The removal of adenoids has in many instances resulted in the reclamation of a boy gone wrong. Other defects also, such as those of eye and ear, sometimes affect the disposition of children. Their removal would undoubtedly lessen the amount of juvenile delinquency.

f. Child Labor.

Although to some extent a result of poverty, broken homes, and other conditions, child labor is itself a cause of juvenile delinquency. The federal[1] government in its report says, "working children showed a marked excess over non-working children both of delinquency and recidivism, and that this appeared in offenses of every grade." "The proportionate excess of workers is large, varying from two to nine times the ratio of non-workers." As other factors affecting delinquency were found insufficient to account for these conditions, it became evident that child labor must be one of the direct causes. It was discovered that "the largest number of delinquent boys were found in those occupations or industries in which the nature of the employment does not permit of supervision." The principal occupations of this nature are newspaper sell-

[1] *Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

ing, errand and delivery boys, and the messenger service. A large proportion of the delinquent girls were engaged in domestic service.

That the street trades conduce to delinquency is well known. Being without supervision or restraint, boys abandon themselves to the constant contacts of the street, with their hardening influences. Newsboys and errand boys furnish a large proportion of each class of offenders, but the messenger boys seem to lead in immoral conduct and assault and battery, while bootblacks lead in gambling, and office boys in larceny. Occupational conditions are responsible in part for the tendency to commit certain crimes, but the environment of the workers helps to demoralize them.

g. Poverty.

The factor of poverty cannot be accurately weighed, but its importance is evident. The bulk of delinquent children come from the ranks of those who are either below the poverty line or are resting rather insecurely above it. The poor and very poor are the chief victims, and children especially are sufferers. Adults are often responsible for their poverty, but children are not to blame. Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott in their study of poverty and juvenile delinquency in Chicago state that three-fourths of the boys came from the lowest and second lowest groups of families and that nine-tenths of the girls came from the same groups. There are no known reasons why later investigations would disclose different conclusions. Poverty means inferior homes, bad housing, inadequate recreation, and other disadvantages. The resulting lack of opportunities for children is registered in increased delinquency.

The causes of delinquency are many; but without doubt the principal underlying conditions are broken homes, incompetency of parents, neglect and vice, environmental associations, retardation, defectiveness, physical defect, and poverty.

4. Offenses of Delinquents.

If delinquency is largely an expression of wrong relations in the home and on the street, the offense committed by the child

is of secondary importance. In some courts the child is simply charged with delinquency, no special offense being designated or recorded. This is an extreme application of the theory of the non-responsibility of the child. Furthermore, it obscures somewhat the causes of the delinquency, for without exact knowledge of results, causes cannot be accurately diagnosed. Certain offenses, however, are the result of like conditions, and no harm will follow if they are classified together. On the other hand, the major groups of offenses should be given, but certain minor classifications may be omitted.

The juvenile courts are far from uniform in the presentation of their statistics, and therefore no general statements are possible in regard to the proportions among the various offenses, but partial facts, such as the following, are of interest.

The table given below shows the classification by offenses of delinquents in Chicago (1921) and in St. Louis (1919-1920).

OFFENSE	CHICAGO		ST. LOUIS	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Against person	7.2	0.7	2.3	0.0
" property	65.9	11.8	56.6	10.6
" morals	20.9	87.5	17.1	81.0
" peace	...	...	13.5	6.3
Violating city ordinances	...	...	10.5	2.0
Other	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Among the boys the leading charge consists of offenses against property. The actual offense in most of these cases is larceny although a number of boys are guilty of the more serious offenses against property, such as robbery and burglary. More than half of the charges against boys come under this general head.

The girls on the contrary, are not generally inclined to commit these offenses. They are heard on charges of immorality or incorrigibility. In the two cities for which the facts are given, more than four-fifths of the girls were brought in on these two charges. In about one-half of the cases falling into

this group outright immorality is charged—a fact which implies sex experience on the part of the girl. The remaining half classify under the head—incorrigibility—and represent waywardness, or a tendency to immorality, but for protective reasons the definite offense is not officially revealed. A very small percentage of the girls coming into the court are virgins and a considerable number are actually afflicted with venereal disease. In St. Louis 12 per cent of the children—boys and girls—passing through the House of Detention were found to have venereal disease and out of a random group of court children 8 per cent were declared to be similarly afflicted. Higher figures, however, obtain for the state institutions, to which the older girls are sent. In at least one such institution nearly three-fourths of the girls at the time of admission were afflicted. Other offenses are of relatively minor importance but truancy, disturbance of the peace, and malicious mischief deserve mention. In some juvenile courts no other charge is placed against the child except that of juvenile delinquency. Under these conditions it will become increasingly difficult for the public to learn the precise nature of the offenses committed. The author does not approve of this tendency.

5. Number of Delinquents.

The number of delinquent children in the United States is an indication of the importance of the juvenile court. Unfortunately no exact data can be obtained, but the United States Children's Bureau reports that in 1918 about 175,000 children's cases were heard in this country. Some of these are classified as neglected or dependent, but at least four-sevenths or more than 100,000 were brought on delinquency charges. Many institutions detain children for more than one year. Accordingly the number of all delinquent children receiving social attention each year exceeds the number appearing in court during the year.

The proportion of delinquent children is smaller in the rural districts than in the cities, partly because of the lack of a court system but largely because of a favorable environment. In

many cities from 7 to 10 per cent of the boys acquire juvenile court records.

The number of delinquent children in institutions is steadily increasing. The number reported to the Bureau of Education for 1901 was slightly over 25,000; for 1911, 51,387, but for 1918 it was 63,762. This constant rise in the number if continued would yield a total in 1923 of approximately 70,000. There are slightly more than three times as many boys as girls in these institutions and the average period of detention is about 7 months.

In addition to the institution and probation cases, a large number of children, many of whom without doubt are delinquent, are brought before the probation officers and their cases are settled out of court. In some courts the great majority of cases are handled in this way, but are not counted among the delinquent children.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE JUVENILE COURT

1. The Juvenile Court Movement.

The first official juvenile court in the United States was established in Chicago in 1899. The rapid spread of the juvenile court idea is a marked instance of the imitativeness of the American mind. Although the new child psychology had deeply permeated the minds of leaders in philanthropic work, the court movement made but little headway. The public was not ready, neither were the politicians. Social workers had begun to emphasize the value of the child, but their efforts were not appreciated. Children were still the victims of retributive justice; for example, in Chicago boys were being thrown into the police station; in Denver, within the six years before the inauguration of the juvenile court, about 2000 boys had been temporarily placed in jail; in Indianapolis, Buffalo, and elsewhere the large number of children subjected to intolerable conditions caused a revolt which needed only the example of a new way of handling juvenile cases. The states which practiced the most advanced methods of child saving did not lead in the establishment of the juvenile court, for their need was less. It was the reaction against antiquated methods of handling children that finally brought the court.

In 1869 Massachusetts had granted children separate trials, at which it also required the state agent for children to be present. Delinquent children were also placed with private societies instead of being held in jails and prisons. Ontario passed a law in 1893 which made provision for the care of delinquent children. This was very similar to our juvenile court laws. Several years of agitation preceded the successful

attempt to secure a law for Illinois. When the beginning was once made the states where little had been done began to realize their shortcomings, and adopted the juvenile court plan with great enthusiasm. The law was scattered broadcast and became a basis for laws elsewhere. In Denver a court was established prior to the meeting of the Colorado legislature which enacted a suitable juvenile court law; Philadelphia introduced its court in 1901. The Pennsylvania law, however, was declared unconstitutional, but a new law was passed in 1903, and the court was then permanently established. New York City followed in 1902, and the cities of Brooklyn and St. Louis in the succeeding year. The efficient Indianapolis court was organized in 1902, and in most of our cities of 50,000 or more juvenile courts have now been established, or methods have been devised of granting children separate trials. Everywhere, the establishment of an authorized juvenile court has depended upon action by the state legislature. This is true whether it is part of the criminal court or is organized on a separate footing. /The states have usually applied the juvenile court system first to the large cities, then to the smaller communities, and finally some of them have extended it to the entire state/

2. Extension and Organization.

The general extension of the court to the counties and the method of operation has become a problem of considerable concern. A goodly proportion of the inmates of the state industrial schools are committed from the circuit courts of the state. These children have been handled in practically the same way as adults; they have been confined in the county jails and have been given a regular trial, waiting for their turn according to court docket. The chief difficulty of extending the juvenile court into the counties has been the discontinuous sessions of the county courts. Many circuit court districts comprise a number of counties, in each of which the judge spends some time in trying criminal cases. Should a child be arrested in a county in which court is not being held, he may

have to be confined or detained for several months before he can get a hearing, and as there is usually no detention home, the jail is used.

Another difficulty consists in making provision for the child's probation; therefore children have either been sentenced to the industrial school, or given their freedom. The juvenile court idea implies probation for some children, but the number of such cases in the country districts is small, and they live at considerable distance from each other. Can the county afford to provide a paid probation officer? Can it arrange for the care of the child with some local social agency? These are some of the problems which confront the county courts, and which make it difficult to institute a new system.

The fact that some states send slightly delinquent children and also dependent children to reformatories makes a state-wide juvenile court system necessary.

Our state laws lack uniformity. In some states the juvenile court in a county is made a division of the circuit court. Separate hearings are arranged for children, and if necessary they may be held when the regular court is not in session. In Indiana the jurisdiction of the court extends to delinquents, truants, neglected and dependent children and to cases brought in by the board of children's guardians.

In other states the jurisdiction is placed in the probate courts. These are civil courts and this system implies a somewhat different attitude toward juvenile delinquency than is involved by the use of the circuit courts. However, the extent to which the criminal or the chancery proceeding is used is not entirely determined by the law or type of court used. The methods of judges are often a very important factor. Courts in rural sections are usually a part of other judicial systems. The attachment is made to the following types of courts—county, probate, superior, district. A small proportion of the juvenile courts are specially organized courts on an independent footing.

Even in the larger cities the juvenile court is frequently a

mere appendage of the circuit court and is served by one or more judges from that court. If the court consists of civil and criminal divisions, the judges will be selected regularly from one of these divisions. Practice relating to this point is not uniform; some cities following one, and some another. The judge taken from the civil bench, however, does not breathe the atmosphere of crime and can more easily think and act constructively in respect to the small child before him. In a few cities the juvenile delinquent is heard in the court of domestic relations. The juvenile court needs to be thoroughly divested of its criminal taint and be given the atmosphere of the civil courts, where dependency and other family relations as well as delinquency are handled.

In recent years there has been a pronounced movement in this direction. If juvenile delinquency is not crime but misfortune largely, then it can be handled with allied problems in appropriately organized courts.

3. Selection and Qualifications of Judges.

The rotation of judges in the juvenile court is one of the glaring weaknesses of the system. The act of presiding over cases that merely involved children used to be regarded as beneath the dignity of a judge, and a burden that ought to be avoided. Children's cases do not lead to a great career as a jurist, so the time spent was time lost! Consequently short terms became the rule, especially when the judges themselves designated one of their number to serve, although there have been several notable exceptions to this rule. The Chicago judges selected one of their number for a year, but continued the same man for several years; consequently Chicago has given several well-known juvenile court judges to the world. Chicago also paved the way for another excellent reform. A woman was appointed as assistant to the judge, and she handles all the female delinquency cases. Several cities have since then copied this plan.

The term of office among judges has varied from two months to four years; the short term has been the outcome of a vicious

system of rotation; the latter the result of election, as in Denver, or of appointment by the governor, as in Boston. Short terms lessen the interest of the judge in the problems of juvenile delinquency. However, if he is frequently brought back his interest may revive somewhat, but good results cannot be expected if the juvenile court is not taken seriously. Satisfactory work can only follow experience, and this requires an extended term of office or continuous assignment to the position. Although some of our judges began as martyrs, the work of the juvenile court has recently received a greater appreciation, and the aversion to the work has declined. Furthermore, some socially minded men have found the court an opportunity for genuine public service, as well as for gaining a reputation. The growing consciousness that the best constructive work consists in dealing with children partly accounts for this changing attitude.

In many respects the children's judge must possess qualities which may be absent in his compatriots in the criminal court. He should possess the legal knowledge and training with which every judge should be equipped, as training should only enhance his efficiency. Other qualities are, however, more essential for successful work: first, the judge must have a definite knowledge of child psychology. He must be able to know and interpret the child, to see the limitation of the child's horizon, and to understand the natural subjective effects of external influences. To know the mind of the child is the first step toward his reformation. Behind the offense stands the offender, and behind the offender stands the home. However, it is with the child that the judge must deal and must deal wisely. Children cannot be handled in job lots. Successful work by the judge also depends upon his knowledge of social problems and conditions. The problem of juvenile delinquency is a social question, and its legal phases are only the vehicles used to transport the child to the right destination. The purpose and aim of the work must be distinctly understood. The social as well as the individual causes of delinquency, the

handicaps of bad parentage, and the compulsion of environment are factors which every judge must consider in his disposition of cases.

Another quality with which the judge must be specially endowed is a sympathetic temperament. The so-called judicial temperament is out of place in the children's court, and if introduced will only multiply the mass of sin and suffering which already exists. Although the functions of the judge and the probation officer must be separated (and in few cases is it possible or advisable for the former to perform any of the work assigned to the latter), still the judge must plan actively for the full reclamation of the child—a task which cannot be effectively performed without human sympathy duly tempered with prudence. The proper attitude of the judge is summed up in the following extract from an address by Julian W. Mack, formerly judge of the juvenile court of Chicago: "Unless the judge be really interested in philanthropy, you might as well give up the juvenile court; unless he realizes that the problem before him is totally different from the problem either in the civil or the criminal court, that the question which he has to determine is not—has the child done a certain thing and should a certain thing be done to the child because of the act—but it is purely and simply, what can we do to save and redeem this child; he might as well abandon his position. But even though the judge have the proper conception of the function of the juvenile court, he must gain a thorough experience in order to be able to deal with the problem. It takes study and thought and patience and above all, experience. . . ." The need of judges fitted to direct the lives of the vast numbers of erring children coming under their control cannot be too strongly emphasized.

4. Appearance of the Delinquent in Court.

In the best type of juvenile courts the child is not brought in until a thorough investigation has been made by the probation officer. A sociological diagnosis of the child is necessary to make a wise disposition of the case. The investigation

should include the following information: the charge against the child; his family history; the habits and morals of parents; their heredity; their social and financial conditions; the child's school attendance; his habits and associations; the steps that led to the delinquency; and his physical and mental condition. The probation officer's investigation should be supplemented by a complete physical and mental examination from competent physicians. A psychopathic clinic, such as the one established in Chicago in 1909, or a department of social investigation such as that of the Seattle court or a psychiatric clinic of the type established by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the Commonwealth Fund should make an examination of the majority of children coming before the court.

It would be desirable to have every child examined, but the work involved makes this goal impossible for a long time to come. Although a large number of delinquent children are mentally defective, the service of such a clinic is not limited to the discovery of defectiveness. The larger function consists in the discovery of the behavioristic tendencies of the child or as Dr. Healey has put it to the unraveling of the twisted thread of personality and environment in cases of delinquency.[1] Each individual is an intricate compound of mental traits and personality characteristics, each of which is a factor in determining his conduct. The relation between personality and environmental factors produces stimuli which result in action. If the physical and mental qualities of the child can be discovered and scientifically appraised, the problem of the judge and the probation officer will be greatly simplified. If in addition the examiners can trace peculiarities in emotion, in behavior, in mental reaction to particular stimuli and in impulse, to unhappy and perhaps hidden experiences, the door often opens to the release of influences capable of counteracting the unfavorable quality that has been developed. Such an analysis

[1] U. S. Children's Bureau, *Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards*, 1922. p. 29.

of individual personality into its component elements should represent part of the sociological information to be placed in the hands of the judge when, or before, the delinquent appears in court.

Recent studies also indicate that considerable attention must be given to the physical side of a delinquent child both from the angle of sex life and general physical conditions. Nutritional disorders and various defects often exert a profound influence on the child's conduct.

No welfare organization needs to make a more thorough diagnosis of a case than the juvenile court must make in order that a wise and successful plan of treatment may be devised by the judge and the probation officer. It has been claimed that no juvenile court is well equipped unless medical and psychological service is available for at least half of the cases handled.[1]

In some states the child's case is presented to the court by petition instead of complaint and the child comes into court in answer to a "summons," and warrants are not issued except as a last resort. Many courts, however, still cling to the old forms of procedure.

The temporary detention of the child pending his trial involves some difficulties. In the majority of cases the child is at large and expected to answer the summons. He is practically under the care of a probation officer, and unless absolutely necessary he is not detained, but is allowed his liberty. Otherwise the detention home, or rooms used for detention, or even the jail are used to hold the child until trial. Many states have laws prohibiting the placing of children under certain ages—usually 14—in jail; other methods of accommodation must then be found.

5. Court Hearings.

The publicity of children's cases has been a problem of long standing, and was not solved by the founding of the juvenile court. Newspapers in some instances have agreed not to pub-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

lish accounts of juvenile delinquency because they might embarrass the youthful offender and accordingly promote crime. Previously they had often exploited some spectacular case and caused much harm. Separate hearings for children, some of them private, also preceded the court proper and so the type of hearings now conducted in the juvenile courts were gradually evolved. Officially the hearings are of two kinds, public and private.

Most of the cities retain the public hearing, but their methods have been so developed that the public can gain but little through attendance at the trials. Few people seem to know when the children are on trial, and, on account of the informal method adopted, those who do attend gain no advantage from their attendance. The judge is usually seated at his bench, and the defendants, complainants, witnesses, officers, and others directly interested crowd about him. The oath may or may not be administered, and then the trial proceeds. The parties almost invariably speak in low tones; after a short trial the case is concluded and its disposition ordered. Persons in the audience learn little or nothing of the merits of the case, and the interest which is excited is so meager that few spectators consider it worth while to attend. What is nominally a public hearing consequently becomes one which is in practice largely private. The chief advantage of the public hearing is in the opportunity it gives to philanthropic persons to ascertain whether the child secures proper and humane treatment. Abuse of the powers of the juvenile court is also impossible under such an arrangement. The representatives of children's societies, of orphans' homes, and persons directly interested in children attend the hearings in many cities, and satisfy themselves concerning the justice of the disposition of cases.

Private hearings are in vogue in a number of cities, of which Boston is an example. According to this system spectators are not allowed, and no one is present except the parties directly participating in the trial and the necessary officials. The children are entirely saved from the confusion resulting

from the presence of an audience. A child is usually embarrassed on meeting a person who attended his trial at the juvenile court, and the avoidance of this possibility makes his reclamation more probable. Part of the gain resulting from private hearings is counteracted if children and witnesses are detained together in some waiting room.

The secrecy of private hearings, it was believed, would invite suspicion on the part of the public and raise questions as to the methods that were employed in dealing with children. The danger of star chamber methods has not been a serious one and there can be but little doubt that the system of private hearings will ultimately prevail. The child has much to gain and but little to lose thereby.

The juvenile court should be a court of original and unlimited jurisdiction. It can then enable the judge to deal adequately with the child. In exercising the parental functions of the state the delegated authority must have a free hand to govern the situation, otherwise the exercise of the rights will be useless. The juvenile delinquent is a difficult case; hence efficient methods must be authorized. Jury trial, although allowed almost without exception, is seldom employed by the court and the case is handled by the judge who, guided by the facts gathered, disposes of the case directly. The judgment of trained officials is far superior to that of the jury which would be secured, and in theory the judge is regarded as the friend and protector of the child. Accordingly the interests of the child will not suffer. By retaining his control over the disposition of the delinquent, the judge can facilitate effective reformation.

6. Disposition of Offenders.

Juvenile offenders are subject to several forms of disposition, including acquittal, dismissal, fines, supervision, probation, commitment to institutions or to individuals, and the requirement of restitution for property destroyed. Children also are sometimes placed out in family homes. In disposing of an offender, sentence is imposed not as a punishment but as a part

of a program of upbuilding character. At first the offense was all-important and the case was judged accordingly. Emphasis was later shifted to the child and less attention was paid to the particular offense committed. As has been said, in some cities the charge is merely "delinquency," and the officials who supervise the case do not know the nature of the act committed. The most advanced view regards the child as a social symptom—the outgrowth of family and environmental conditions. The treatment is social as well as individual. It is a mistake to suppress the facts as to the offense committed, for the offense throws light on the character of the child and on the influences that are producing that character.

Many cases are everywhere settled out of court. In some cities the character of the law allows complaints on flimsy and unwarranted charges, but on investigation many of these grievances are settled amicably without judicial intervention. A considerable percentage of the defendants are discharged or dismissed after hearing in court, but in some cases even the guilty are discharged, especially in case of a first offense. A reprimand and warning from the judge usually accompanies such a disposition of the case. A large proportion of the children in New York City were formerly handled in this way, since the city had no official probation system, although one of the private societies supervised many cases. Naturally commitments to institutions were heavy.

In making dispositions, the influence of local conditions, the presence of parental schools or reformatories, the adequacy of the probation system, and the attitude of the judges toward the problem have been sharply felt. Some judges favor commitment to institutions, others, probation; and the proportions between these two forms of disposition are constantly changing. Some cities, such as Denver and Indianapolis, place most of their delinquent children on probation, but send a small number to institutions. Here as elsewhere the older and more hardened offender is usually sent to the reform school. Almost without exception the juvenile courts have

gradually increased the proportion of cases given a probationary treatment and have reduced the percentage sent to institutions for first offenses. The more degraded the home and the environment of the child, the greater the tendency to place him in an institution.

Girls are also subject to a different disposition from boys. Owing to the fact that a great proportion of the delinquent girls are immoral, it is necessary that many be removed from the home and be given treatment elsewhere.

For these reasons the percentage of girls sent to institutions is three times that of the boys. Other differences depend upon the policy of the particular court as to the handling of only serious, or both serious and minor, cases.

In some states when the child has been placed in the custody of the court, he cannot be discharged from an institution or from the care of an individual except with the court's consent. In other states this decision rests with agencies handling the children.

When a final disposition has been made of the case of a delinquent child the existence of a court record constitutes a problem. Juvenile delinquency is not considered a crime and yet the fact of such delinquency might be used against a man or woman in later life, who was once brought into the juvenile court. If public sentiment were more lenient this danger would not exist, but particularly in the case of girls a serious situation might develop. It has therefore been suggested that the court record be expunged and papers be returned if after a given period following complete discharge, the delinquent commits no new offense but lives an apparently normal moral life. Such action would safeguard the former delinquent and might even prove an incentive to good conduct during the probation period.

7. Evolution of the Juvenile Court.

When first organized the juvenile court was merely regarded as an institution dealing with juvenile offenders. Separate detention of children, separate trials, and probationary over-

sight—these were the principal functions of the court. The system, however, could not long exist on the theory that no child is a criminal, without developing preventive methods. The court therefore tends to become a constructive force in the community, and coöperates with other agencies to improve the moral and social environment of the child. Its great function is the moral rehabilitation of the family. This, however, depends in part on the social and economic remaking of the home. The increasing coöperation with attendance officers, factory inspectors, school physicians, children's societies, settlements, churches, and charitable societies is an evidence that this view is being rapidly recognized.

There is no theoretical reason why the juvenile court should be a branch of the criminal court, therefore it can expand its functions so as to include the disposition of every variety of case involving children,—delinquent, neglected, dependent, and cruelty cases. Dependent children are at present usually handled in the probate courts, but these cases could very properly be transferred to a children's court. This is precisely the direction which the evolution of the juvenile court is taking. As soon as the court is in actual practice, as well as in theory, divested of its criminal taint, so soon children's cases of every variety can be handled. Many courts have long since expanded their functions so as to cover cases of neglect. The St. Louis juvenile court deals with delinquent and neglected children; the Chicago court with delinquent and dependent, but classes neglected children under the term dependent; the Denver court recognizes each of these three classes; many courts recognize the contributory delinquency of parents; some handle non-support cases. A real children's court dealing with every variety of child problem that requires the attention of some court would greatly increase its own importance and add to its dignity. Judges would also become more ambitious to serve in this capacity and would study the social problems of child life more intensively.

The expanding functions of the juvenile court do not insure

its permanency. Advanced methods of treatment will, of course, remain, but what agency will administer the law is uncertain. The history of the Indianapolis court is interesting in this connection. It was organized in 1903, and dealt with juvenile delinquents, truants, and neglected children on petition of the board of guardians; in 1905 it assumed jurisdiction over contributory delinquency cases; in 1907 it was empowered to consider cases against parents for abandonment, non-support, and neglect; to take children away from vicious parents, and if parents were separated, to decide which one should have custody of the child; finally it was given charge of homeless, abandoned, and destitute children. In 1911 the court changed its name to the Marion County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court because it had been dealing with every variety of case handled in a domestic relations court except divorce, alimony, and closely allied cases. The court has also been spending about one-half of its time with adults, but usually only so far as they affected children. We are recognizing more clearly than in earlier years that delinquency problems are essentially family questions, and we are now insisting that constructive work shall be done for the child long before he arrives at the court.

We are learning that the problems affecting children in the home are closely interwoven, and are recognizing that the subject of domestic relations covers every phase of the delinquent, dependent, and neglected child problems. Perhaps the most significant move in this direction was the establishment of the court of domestic relations in Cincinnati. In this city it was not a case of a juvenile court expanding into a broader court, but the establishment of the new and larger court with complete jurisdiction over problems of juvenile delinquency as well as over such questions as divorce, desertion, dependency, bastardy and non-support. In many cities courts of domestic relations have been created, but it is the exception rather than the rule for these courts to deal with delinquent children. Nevertheless it seems desirable that these courts eventually

merge and handle the problems now covered by both, and deal with them from a thoroughly social point of view.

8. The Juvenile Court in Other Countries.

The juvenile court has had its greatest development in the United States. Canada, however, which really began the system, has established juvenile courts which deal very effectively with her children. There, as here, the courts are established separately in each state or province. South Australia established a children's court in 1895, and New South Wales in 1905, and in the latter state a system of probation was also established.

Before the war Germany had established a rather elaborate plan of procedure for the handling of juvenile delinquents. Among the provisions of its code were the following:

The term "juvenile" was applied to persons under 18 years of age.

In each judicial district a juvenile court was to be established with one judge and two laymen in charge.

The public attorney decided whether a case should be prosecuted or given educational treatment.

The accused child might be defended by a lawyer.

While awaiting trial the child might be detained in a reformatory.

Trials were to be separate from those of adults.

The child might be placed in an institution or on probation.

A system of paid probation officers was established, but it was maintained largely by private societies, although some cities paid the officials from the public fund.

In 1923 the German government revised and improved its juvenile court law and system of procedure. The law was made applicable to persons between 14 and 18 years of age, and children under 14 were no longer to be considered juvenile offenders. It was further provided that the physical and mental conditions of young persons were to decide whether they should be held, but wilful offenders were to be handled in one of the following ways: commitment to care of guardian

or school authorities; imposition of special duties; change of environment; probation, or commitment to care of public authorities.[1]

Significant advance in juvenile court legislation in Europe has been made by England, where the institutional care of juvenile delinquents has long been considered a superior form of treatment. The Children Act of 1908, which is an elaborate code covering many phases of child protection, devotes one of its six parts to the juvenile offender. The principal points in the procedure of the law are as follows:[2]

Children apparently under 16 are included under the law.

The officials may release the accused on a recognizance for such an amount as will secure his attendance at court.

Detention homes must be provided.

Parents or guardians of children must attend court.

In case of guilt the following punishments are provided:

Fines may be imposed on children or on the parents of the offenders.

The child may be placed under the supervision of a probation officer or committed to some other fit person.

He may be sent to an institution or a detention home.

He may be whipped.

He may be discharged provisionally.

The parent may be required to give security for the behavior of his child.

Juvenile court hearings must be held in a different building or room than that in which the court ordinarily meets.

Children while detained for trial are not allowed to associate with adults.

Private hearings are provided except that representatives of the press may be present.

The imprisonment of children is abolished.

The provisions of the English law took effect in 1909 except the part relating to imprisonment, which was put in operation

[1] *The Probation Bulletin*, July, 1923.

[2] Children Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, Ch. 67, pp. 55-66.

in 1910. The law itself embodies most of the features common to the American laws. The probation system, however, is still in its infancy, for the tradition of institutional treatment is hard to overcome.

France and the Latin countries are practically without juvenile courts, but in Paris children may be placed under the probationary care of private societies. Some advance has also been made in Italy, and children are being treated with more humaneness in the ordinary courts.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE PROBATION SYSTEM

1. Development of the Probation System.

The probation system has been called the "keystone" of the juvenile court, and with reason, because it alone makes the success of the court possible. The court itself is little more than the disposing agency directing what shall be done with the child, but the probation officer is the arm of the law which deals with the child directly. These children are the wards of the state and it is the probation officer who makes the state's guardianship effective.

The probation system antedated the juvenile court by many years, Massachusetts having introduced it in 1869; and several other states used it before they established the juvenile court. With the rise of the court, however, the probation system sprang into greater prominence. While the juvenile court itself dates only from 1899, all of the states have enacted probation laws and have begun to use the new methods of dealing with juvenile delinquents. Many states, however, limit the application of their laws to the larger cities. In 1898 Rhode Island passed a law providing for the temporary supervision of delinquents; the Illinois law was passed in 1899; and a number of states made provision for probation in 1903. After this date the system was rapidly extended. The probation system is being gradually brought under state supervision; already 16 states have adopted a partial or complete system of such supervision. Rhode Island was again the pioneer, and in 1899 placed the general direction of the work under the authority of the state board of charities, which also appoints the officers and fixes their salaries. The small size of the state

renders this function an easier one than would otherwise be the case. Other agencies to which some states have given the control of the probation system are: State Board of Prison Commissioners, Prison Association, Board of Control, and State Probation Commission. Several states, including Massachusetts and New York, have adopted the last method of control. State control in Colorado permits the rejection of local appointments to the position of probation officer. The state of Utah allows its commission to appoint and fix the salaries of both juvenile court judges and probation officers. Other states limit the functions of the state bodies to inquiries into the methods and results of probation work, to suggestions for its improvement, to the gathering of statistics, and to attempts to secure a unification of policy throughout the state. These attempts at standardization are everywhere desirable.

2. Probation Officers and their Duties.

The primary duties of the probation officer are well expressed in the Illinois statute: "It shall be the duty of the probation officer to make such investigation as may be required by the court; to be present in court in order to represent the interest of the child when the case is heard; to furnish the court such information and assistance as the judge may require; and to take such charge of the child before and after trial as may be directed by the court." In some cities a chief probation officer is appointed who has charge of the other officers. In the larger cities the work of the officers is usually specialized and some are detailed to confine themselves to the investigation of cases to be brought into the court. Probationary work may be carried on directly by the following classes of individuals:

1. Paid officers confining their efforts to probationary care of the child.
2. Unpaid volunteer workers whose duties are limited to supervisory work.
3. The judge acting in the capacity of probation officer.
4. The police serving as probation officials.

a. Investigating Officials.

The delinquent child may be summoned into court after complaint by some citizen or official or he may be brought on warrant. Before the case of the child is settled by the court, a preliminary investigation is made by the probation officer, or in the large cities by the officers detailed for the work of investigating the cases of children against whom charges have been preferred. Such official attempts to present sufficiently complete information to enable the judge to dispose of the case without further evidence. This information is secured in part from the child and his parents directly, but is supplemented and corroborated by neighbors and acquaintances, while school records and employment records are used when necessary. The chief probation officer bases his judgment on the facts presented and the judge in most cases follows the suggestions made. Unless he is skillful in his task, the investigating officer will fail to collect many of the most important facts about the child. A trained worker is most necessary for this work, and considerable skill is necessary to extort the truth from the unwilling subjects of investigation. By giving his entire time to investigation the worker acquires a high degree of skill and increases the efficiency of the probation force. It is also desirable to place the child under the probationary care of some other officer than the one who made the investigation of the case. Better results are usually accomplished.

b. Officials Engaged in Probationary Work.

The work of the judge is less important than that of the probation officers, who carry out the instructions of the court. The judge can only determine what shall be done with the delinquent; the probation officer must endeavor to restore him to a normal moral status. In the first place the probation officer sometimes brings the child to the detention home, although in most cases the police do so if the child is arrested for the first time. If relieved of the task of making preliminary investigations, the probation officer must still be familiar with the facts that have been obtained, in order to supervise

the child efficiently, for his duties then have just begun. When a child remains in his old environment—and in a majority of cases the environment, including the home, has been responsible for the delinquency—the probation officer must become familiar with the influences that surround the delinquent. Although not a spy nor detective, he must acquaint himself with the daily routine of the child's life, and if he is an efficient friend of delinquent children, he will take such steps as will lessen the temptation to repeat offenses, and will strengthen children in their purpose to remain law-abiding. To supervise the activities of the child in order to prevent degeneration, to turn his attention to wholesome sports and amusements, to interest him in better companionship, to surround him with elevating influences, to discourage any proclivity toward truancy, to persuade and enable parents to give their children proper care and guardianship, to make the child's home his opportunity instead of his stumbling block; in short, to build up his character—these are some of the duties which the probation system imposes upon its officials.

The probation officer should do considerable field work as well as require the child to report in person at stated intervals, although reports need not always be made at the court, especially in the case of girls. These conferences should cover the work and conduct of the child since the time of the last report and contain suggestions for the future. Written reports are also filed. These consist of reports made out by the delinquent himself, reports from the school which he attends, reports from parents or guardians, and perhaps employers, and occasionally from others. The probation officer also files his own report of the conduct of the child, and his official record should be a reliable history of the moral advance of the child. Success can be best obtained by securing the coöperation of those agencies that are able to work permanently for the reclamation of wayward children and to surround them with good influences after they have been released from the jurisdiction of the probation officer.

The officers must deal with two kinds of delinquents: those who are released and simply placed under the care of some official, and the children who are conditionally released from some institution and who are said to be "on parole." Two distinct classes of offenders are represented in these types and the methods of supervision must be made to correspond.

At the beginning of the juvenile court movement, probation officers in many cities were designated by the court to serve without pay and were not considered professional workers. The Pennsylvania law of 1903, for example, provided for the appointment by the court of one or more discreet persons of good character to serve as probation officers during the pleasure of the court, said probation officers to receive no compensation from the public treasury; and it further required that the probation officers make such investigations as the court might demand, that they be present in court when the case was heard, that they furnish the court such information and assistance as might be required, and that they take such charge of the child before or after trial as the court might direct. Volunteers had to be discovered to do this work.

Social workers recognized almost immediately the necessity of granting compensation to the probation officers in order to secure enough competent officials for the work. The burden of providing salaries was sometimes borne by women's clubs, sometimes by churches, and sometimes by settlements and other organizations interested in social betterment. It is needless to say that the compensation given under this system was far from adequate. This fact, together with the justice and propriety of salaries paid from the public treasury, hastened the advent of a system of public compensation.

Exceptions still occur, but they are largely confined to the smaller communities where the juvenile court has only been established in recent years and where the amount of work is small. Practically every state has provided public compensation for its probation officers, although in many cases very meager salaries are being paid.

c. Volunteer Workers.

The relation of the volunteer worker to the court system is somewhat different from that of the appointed unpaid worker. The volunteer deliberately undertakes without compensation part of the work falling within the jurisdiction of the probation officials, and is expected to do faithfully the work assigned to him. In Germany under the Elberfeld system such honor attaches to unpaid work as to make the office a stepping stone to a public career. Only an incentive of this kind can insure successful results from unpaid work, but in the United States, as yet, no such incentive has been developed. The volunteer is not drafted into the service, but is appointed only after signifying his desire to assist in the work of the probation office. Therefore it might be supposed that only persons sincerely interested in the work would apply for appointment. In actual practice, volunteer work, which is most commonly carried on by women, is handicapped by the following disadvantages:

1. Frequently the volunteer has only a short-lived interest in probation work—an interest excited by a sudden contact with the fascinating features of the problem. After a few reverses in attempting to reform delinquent children, her ardor cools, and as she does not feel the responsibility borne by a paid official, her efficiency rapidly declines.

2. Volunteer work is often in danger of becoming fashionable. When this is true it is less the spirit, than the popularity, of service which dominates the volunteer.

3. It can never be regarded as more than a mere avocation, and this can often be conveniently slighted, when other interests absorb the mind. The needs of the child are not made paramount, and therefore do not receive sufficient attention.

On the other hand, capable volunteers for probation work are frequently secured from the general body of social workers in any community. The principle of volunteer service must be maintained, but whether such service shall be given in connection with the juvenile court or with some other form of

philanthropic endeavor depends upon the results. Some temporary harm may be tolerated if the undoubted result would be an increased voluntary interest in social conditions. Social progress depends upon a widened area of intelligent interest in the welfare of humanity.

The most extensive experiment with volunteer probation officers in the United States was tried in Indianapolis where, since only two regular probation officers were at first available, it was necessary to rely in part upon volunteer help.[1] During the first year of the existence of the juvenile court in that city, nearly 190 men and women offered their services. A large percentage of the volunteers were men of affairs full of practical suggestions. The philanthropic organizations and societies also contributed some efficient workers. About 80 of the volunteers were employed, and 240 children, or an average of three each, were assigned to them. At first the system in Indianapolis met with considerable success, but its efficiency gradually declined and a system of public service was established.

In many of the larger cities volunteers have been accepted and cases assigned to them. However, the practice declined until the advent of the Big Brother and Big Sister Movement. If a trained secretary will select and supervise volunteers a valuable form of social service can be developed. Not only is it possible to handle many cases of minor delinquency, but it spreads an appreciation of the probation system in the community. Such education is worth the effort.

d. The Judge as Probation Officer.

In a few cases the judges partially assume the function of probation officer, and compel delinquent children to report to them as well as to other officials. The principal city in which this system has found favor is Denver. Its success depends largely upon the concurrence of two factors: a judge with a strong personal influence, and a city of small or medium size, such as the one named above. Judge Lindsey of the Denver

[1] Children's Courts in the United States, 58th Congress, 2d Session. House of Representatives, Document No. 701, p. 143.

juvenile court originated the system; boys report to him at regular intervals, and come into direct touch with his personality; common-sense talks are given, and loyalty to the court and to law is inspired in the boys. When this system began, a class of voluntary delinquents developed—that is, a class of boys who voluntarily confessed to the court that they had been violating the law. Many of these boys wished to mend their ways, but found it difficult to do so without being placed under the jurisdiction of the court.

Although several cities have adopted in part the method of the Denver court, the majority have delegated the work of probation to their probation officers. Unless the judge understands children thoroughly and has the proper temperament, he cannot inspire the delinquent boy with uplifting motives, but loses his dignity and falls into contempt. Under ordinary conditions this plan should not be attempted.

e. The Police as Probation Officials.

Little needs to be said about the police. It would be better if regular probation officials could be secured in sufficient numbers to do all of the work required. Often this is not the case, and policemen are detailed to assist the probation officers in their work.

3. Qualities of Probation Officers.

Since probation officers are the most important adjunct of the juvenile court, their qualities will determine the success of the system. They must have a comprehensive understanding of child psychology and know how to deal with children; they must have personal touch and know the secret byways to the child's heart; they must be able to influence their wards and rouse in them moral and noble ambitions, and they must promote the development of the child's moral qualities. This they cannot do without an unlimited fund of patience. They must be sympathetic, but not sentimental, and they require a quality of firmness which will give the child resolution. This is urgently needed, for the absence of firmness in the home is responsible for much serious delinquency. The probation of-

ficer must have a good knowledge of family standards, be able to deal with parents, and know how to develop proper responsibility in them. Finally, he must be never ceasing in his vigils, for the time allowed him to mold the child's character is all too short.

4. Selection of Probation Officers.

Probation officers have usually been appointed by the judges, although there is no good reason why this method should be made permanent. Where this method of appointment is not used there is usually some form of state control. The appointing power should be required to make the selection from a certified list of names chosen by civil service examination. Political considerations should not be allowed to enter, and applicants ought to have had some social service training. The examination should include a written test covering the field of social service as related to children, an oral test, and an estimate of the applicant's personality. The written test should have a value of at least 50 per cent out of the total number of points. Such a test will exclude the bookworm as well as the person who relies on his personality alone. The increased emphasis on personality as demanded by some is fraught with serious dangers, as it opens the way for the manipulation of results. By giving due weight to the written work as well as to personality, the evils of the original civil service selections are obviated. The merit system is gradually being introduced, Missouri cities, Chicago, and Buffalo having led the way. However, according to recent investigations low standards are still very common.

5. Probation Districts.

Two different methods of assigning cases to the probation officers are in operation. According to one, the city is divided into districts, to each of which a different officer is assigned, who cares for all the cases in this district. The advantage of this plan lies in the fact that the territory to be covered by the official is so compact that he is able to become acquainted with the conditions and can therefore plan more successfully

the program for each child. On the other hand, the acceptance of every variety of case prevents such specialization as would conduce to the most intelligent methods of treatment. The district plan may be somewhat modified by increasing the size of each district and placing two officers therein. One of these should be a woman having charge of delinquent girls and the smaller boys. Philadelphia and Chicago furnish examples of the district method.

According to the second method, each probation officer has charge of special types of cases throughout the city. Colored children are cared for by a colored official; white girls by a white woman; and cases of very serious delinquency by a man trained in the art of handling this type of boys. This plan, while it may enable the official to acquaint himself with the details of a case, does not allow him to understand thoroughly the community in which the delinquent lives. It likewise compels him to cover a large territory, and occasions a considerable loss of time, as well as lessens the opportunity of the probation officer to identify himself with a community in a positive and constructive manner. Its chief virtue lies in the advantage which specialization in types of delinquency affords. St. Louis and Brooklyn are the principal examples of this method of assigning probation cases.

6. Length of Probation.

Courts occasionally grant a suspension of sentence without submitting the offender to probation, but ordinarily juvenile delinquents are placed on probation for a limited time. This period may vary from 3 months to about two years, but the average is probably not far from nine months. A very large number of children are placed on probation not for a definite time, but subject to the decision of the court as to the time of discharge. The tendency is clearly away from short probation periods and if a minimum limit must be fixed it should seldom be made less than six months. In the infancy of the probation system when the officers were badly overburdened with cases shorter periods were more common, but increased efficiency in

organization has culminated in a more scientific method of work. It should be evident that if permanent cures are to be effected, a reasonable length of time must be allowed to enable the probation officer to perfect a program of reform for each child under his control, and an average of nine or ten months is none too long for this purpose. Probation officers are still so overburdened with work that delinquents are released before they should be.

7. Number of Cases per Official.

Volunteer officers do not usually care for more than two or three cases each, but regularly paid officials each handle a large number. The different cities vary widely in this respect, the number of probationers per official rising to unwieldy limits. The number which can be conveniently handled depends primarily on the character of the offenders, for this determines the time necessary for each delinquent. Serious cases cannot be given too much attention. The care of 50 delinquents is sufficient work for the average probation officer and if this number is exceeded, unsatisfactory results are likely to follow. In some cities neglected children are also placed under the supervision of probation officers. Extreme instances are known of more than 200 such children in charge of a single official, but without doubt this is too many for one person to supervise properly.

8. Extension of Probation System.

With the extension of the juvenile court to the counties and rural districts, a county probation system is gradually developing. Experience in the states where a state-wide juvenile court law has been enacted indicates that it is unwise to appoint probation officers whose duties are limited to service in a single town. Usually the number of cases handled in any town is so small that the official devotes only a small part of his time to the work, and naturally becomes neglectful of his duties. Again, the compensation paid under these conditions is small and expert service is not secured. One plan consists of the appointment by the county authorities of a probation officer who carries on this work throughout the county and who

handles all juvenile delinquents placed on probation. A full time worker must then be secured so that attention will be paid to the qualifications necessary for success. The official will be compelled to do much traveling, but this must be done to insure proper supervision of the children. He can also take charge of the children who have been paroled by the reformatory institutions and returned to their homes. In this way much of the expense incident to the after-care of paroled delinquents can be avoided.

In many counties of some states the work with children may be combined with adult probation and thereby insure full time employment for the officer. In some communities the work of the probation officer has been combined with that of the school attendance officer while in others it has been attached to the duties of the county relief agent or perhaps to those of the secretary of the associated charities or welfare league of the county or the chief town in the county. County boards of visitors or of child welfare have also been utilized as probation departments.

One of the most significant methods may be called the Missouri plan. Although the plan was adopted elsewhere before the legislature of Missouri in 1921 finally passed the law, it was advocated by the social workers of the state and by the Children's Code Commission for many years. According to this plan each county may appoint a superintendent of public welfare whose duties cover the general social service needs of the county. This official may also serve as probation officer if appointed by the juvenile court judge. Under this system the various forms of social service work are concentrated in the hands of one official or set of officials thereby insuring a much more efficient service than if the duties were scattered about among a number of different officials, none of whom was engaged in full time work. It depends on the size of a county and the amount of social service to be performed as to which of these methods is desirable although the Missouri plan has much to commend it for general adoption.

9. Results of Probation.

English reformers have been somewhat skeptical about the probation system and have opposed it on the theory that we cannot expect favorable results by leaving the child in the environment which produced the delinquency. Yet the system measured by such tests as can be applied has accomplished much. Unfortunately we do not know much about the number reformed according to character of offense committed nor according to the age of the offender.

The proportion of children who are brought into court on a second or third charge are an indication of the effects of probation. The Chicago records for eight years show that 67.9 per cent of the boys and 79.7 per cent of the girls were brought into court but once; 18.3 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls appeared twice, and smaller proportions appeared oftener. According to these figures about two-thirds of the boys and four-fifths of the girls appeared but once in court.[1] Professor Thurston, however, also writing for Chicago, states that up to July, 1909, only 55 per cent of the delinquent girls appeared but once.

Reports for Chicago for the years 1916-1921 indicate that the percentage of children brought before the court more than once was 43.7. Such figures show that, although a considerable number of children must be dealt with twice or oftener, the great majority are distinctly improved.

Other figures are more favorable. In St. Louis out of more than 10,000 children appearing before the court during the five-year period ending with 1920 only 14.4 per cent made reappearances. A small number came more than twice and the percentage of repeaters was slightly higher for boys than for girls and for colored than for white.

The New York State Probation Commission has attempted to weigh the effects of probation in that state and presents the following table covering the years 1907-1921 to indicate the results:

[1] Breckinridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, pp. 41-42.

RESULTS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Discharged with improvement	54,244	81.7
Discharged without improvement	2,627	4.0
Committed	9,081	13.7
Absconded or lost from oversight	398	.6
Total	66,350	100.0

According to this table over 80 per cent of the children were discharged with improvement. Most of the remainder were either sent to institutions, absconded or failed to improve, and were discharged, but probably most of these three groups represent a failure of probation to obtain results.

The precise results of juvenile probation are difficult to determine. It is not enough to learn about the immediate effects but it is also necessary to ascertain whether penitentiary convicts, vagrants, mendicants and inefficient workmen are being recruited from the ranks of former juvenile delinquents. Data relating to this problem are meager and the older statistics from Chicago showing that 4.5 per cent of former probationers acquired prison records need to be supplemented with new studies of the problem.

The claims for probation when it was first instituted were most sanguine. It was insisted that in Denver 95 per cent of the cases resulted favorably, and Winnipeg made a similar claim. Conservative figures of to-day show that such results are not being achieved, although the possibilities of probation, however, have not been reached. In no American city has the system been perfected, and in some cities the juvenile court hardly accepts the theories of modern psychology but flagrantly disregards the fact that the delinquent child is not a criminal. We have no information on the relation of recidivism to character of offense, although German statistics indicate that offenses against property are repeated more often than assault and forms of violence against the person. It is likely that probation succeeds better when certain offenses have been committed than in the case of some others.

It must not be forgotten that probation is far less costly

than institutional care; for example in New York it has been estimated at only one-eighteenth as much. An increased expenditure would no doubt greatly increase the efficiency of the system and still remain an economy over the older method.

Neither the juvenile court nor the probation system has accomplished what was claimed for them, but they have proved superior to the methods they supplanted. The problem must be faced in an entirely unbiased manner, and if these institutions can be perfected, we should strive to do so, but if better substitutes can be found, we should not hesitate to use them.

10. Growth of Probation Service.

State legislation has not been paralleled by the actual establishment of the probation service. Nevertheless considerable progress has been made. The Children's Bureau reports that in 1918 out of 2391 juvenile courts for which information was obtained 1071 had some variety of probation service in operation. Systems had been established in all of the cities with a population of more than 100,000 each and in 94 per cent of the medium-sized cities. In the smaller towns about two-thirds of the courts had probation officers, but in the rural districts the proportion was only about 25 per cent. Eight states reported a recognized probation officer for every court, but even in some of these the service was partly indirect: for example in Michigan the county agent for dependent children legally serves as probation officer if none other is selected by the court.[1]

The type of probation service given in 1071 courts was as follows:

TYPE OF SERVICE	NUMBER OF COURTS
Regular	457
Irregular	375
School attendance officers	42
Police	43
Volunteers	58
Unclassified	96

[1] U. S. Children's Bureau, *Courts in the U. S. Hearing Children's Cases.*

Taking into consideration the number of courts without any probation service and those in which the service is irregular or inadequately developed, much remains to be done before the juvenile courts can properly handle the thousands of delinquents that annually come before them. The rapid development of county welfare work, however, promises to bring about a wonderful improvement in the rural courts. In this respect Minnesota, North Carolina and New York promise to lead the way.

There has been a large increase both in the number and the percentage of delinquent children placed on probation—an advance for which the increase in the number of probation officers is particularly responsible although the changing attitude of judges is also a factor. The evolution in New York is indicated by the fact that in 1921, 6751 delinquent children in the state were placed on probation, while only 3496 were commited to either public or private institutions. This development in a state which has made rather generous use of the institution illustrates the popularity of the probation movement. No doubt there are sound reasons for the change.

11. Probation and Coöperating Agencies.

The effects of probation are profoundly modified by the existence of adequate supplementary agencies, aiming to fill the life of the child with forms of activity which tend to develop his better nature. The success of probation in the parts of Chicago supplied with small parks is an example, while the Chicago Juvenile Protective Association, which constantly watches amusement places, dance halls, and picture shows is another valuable coöperating agency. Attendance officers can do much to make the probation system successful. Settlements and other philanthropic agencies should also be powerful agencies.

Although the juvenile court carries on preventive work, its function in this direction is comparatively limited, and it remains for other agencies to develop the constructive work in a community so that delinquency may be prevented. The test of

probation is to perform with a maximum of efficiency the task of reforming delinquent children.

The unofficial treatment of delinquents or near-delinquents, although very popular in a number of juvenile courts, hardly represents a desirable goal. At present, no doubt, there is no practical alternative, and many probation departments can render a useful service to children in danger of going wrong. Nevertheless the chief function of probation officers is to safeguard the character and morals of delinquents, and the unofficial treatment of children, which prevents the acquirement of a court record, must gradually become a constructive movement with boys and girls carried on by the agency that knows the habits, characteristics, intelligence, educational record and interests of the children of a community. There is but one agency that can hope to meet this test. It is the public school. In the gradual extension of its work, as outlined in a previous chapter, it should bridge the gap that exists to-day and serve the community along these lines.

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CHAPTER XXV

OTHER REFORMATORY AGENCIES

1. Detention Homes.

The detention home is a temporary shelter for the child about to be brought into the juvenile court. When the child is arrested he is taken to this home or, in certain cases, allowed his liberty if reasonable assurances are given that he will appear in court at the proper time. The detention homes seldom provide for a large number of children. They take the place of police stations, but must not be connected with them or with jails. Children are usually held here for a short time only, but separate accommodations should be provided for the two sexes, also playrooms, lounging rooms, classrooms for teaching purposes, a library, etc. Detention homes should not be made so attractive, however, that they fail to develop a proper respect for law and order.

In the smaller cities, where court convenes but once throughout the week, a child may be detained for a period of six days, and toward the approach of court day the home is often filled with prospective delinquents. In the larger cities, where the court holds its sessions three or more times per week, the day of trial arrives sooner and the problem of the detention home is less acute. After the conclusion of the trial the child is removed from the home and the court's decision is carried out. In a limited number of instances, children are sentenced for a short time to the home, and frequently they are detained, pending their transferal to some institution.

2. Disciplinary Classes.

Although disciplinary classes in the public schools have already been discussed in a previous chapter, such classes may

also prove reformatory in character as well as preventive. A wise social service will take the child in the process of character formation, but our chronic conservatism results in delay until reformation becomes necessary. The juvenile court in the large cities often requires a child to attend a disciplinary class or school instead of sending him to an institution. Here special attention is given to his conduct but he remains essentially under the jurisdiction of the school authorities. Nevertheless he may at the same time be officially on probation and subject to the plans made by the probation officer.

3. Institutional Care.

Institutional care represents the original form of care provided for delinquent children. Most states are equipped with at least one reformatory for youthful offenders, and usually with two, since the sexes cannot well be cared for in the same institution or in the same town. A majority of these institutions are public, but there are a number of private industrial schools a few of which have a large number of inmates, but most private homes are comparatively small. The states differ widely in the proportion of delinquent children cared for in institutions. In states where a system of state schools has been adopted and juvenile courts been confined largely to cities an excessive number of children have been sent to the institutions. In the Southern states, on the other hand, the number of children in reformatories is low, due largely to the absence of well-developed systems of child care.

a. Evolution of Institutional Care.

Adequate care of delinquent children cannot be given without the aid of reformatory institutions of various kinds. At each stage of their adolescence children must be subjected to forms of treatment appropriate to their psychological and physiolgical needs. Probation may be best for one child; institutional care for another. The former, however, has limitations which cannot at present be overcome, hence the reformatory is a necessary supplement. The age of the child often determines the type of institutions best fitted to benefit him.

The social attitude toward the proper function of an institution for delinquent children has undergone a very interesting change, and is reflected in the names given to such institutions. Originally they were named "Houses of Refuge"—a name which still clings to a number of reform schools throughout the country. The name is a relic of the day when the chief object of institutional care was to provide a means of escape from temptation, but such an object is wholly foreign to the enlightened methods of today. The first House of Refuge in the United States was established in New York City in 1825 and the Lyman School in Massachusetts, opened in 1848, was the first reformatory institution placed under the exclusive control of the state.[1]

As long as venerable notions of human depravity and the full responsibility of children for their delinquencies prevailed, the modern view was quite impossible. The idea of reformation, however, took root, and soon "Reform School" became an appropriate name for these institutions. The method of reform was crude and unscientific because the essential elements of child nature were not understood. Reform meant the complete subjugation of the boy, which often resulted in the development of a malevolent spirit, owing to cruel treatment and too frequent corporal punishment. Repression instead of development was the keynote of the earlier attempts to care for children, and the reform school is the legacy of this period of effort.

The growing belief that children were largely untrained instead of criminal led to the idea of the training school. Accordingly, training was seized upon as the remedy for youthful criminality. The need of filling the mind of the boy with good wholesome thoughts and of preparing him for a useful career was recognized in the program of the institution. In assuming this position the men in charge of reformatories applied the correct principle. Experience has shown that the most successful reformation has been accomplished by means of trade training, and therefore some of the institutions have assumed

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1901, p. 245 ff.

the name of " Industrial Schools," thus recognizing not only the need of training but the character of training necessary to meet the demands of the present industrial world. That truancy and dissatisfaction with the kind of instruction received in schools are important causes of delinquency is a noteworthy fact. That industrial training is far more agreeable than literary education to this class of persons is equally true. Accordingly, the introduction of industrial training becomes the logical outcome of the attempt to use effective reformatory measures.

The last step in the evolution of institutional treatment consists of the attempt to realize within the walls of an institution the advantages which a good home affords. No institution can rival our best homes in their possibilities of making good citizens; and the average home is better than most institutions. Accordingly, the tried methods of millions of homes must be imitated as far as possible in the treatment of delinquents placed in industrial schools. In order to preserve or reproduce this home life the "Cottage System" was introduced. Although this system was begun in 1833 in Hamburg, Germany, it is not yet fully developed and does not properly supplement the industrial training which the institution child now receives. The term "Home" is now applied to some training schools in recognition of their purpose. They should be homelike as well as preparatory for industrial life.

b. Present Functions of Institutions.

Institutions are needed for several reasons: first, the incorrigible and dangerous child must be definitely segregated from his erstwhile associates in order to prevent their ruin. Probation, even though it should prove ultimately successful with the incorrigible, would be too costly in view of the numbers who would be led astray meanwhile. Social quarantine is necessary to prevent the outbreak of an epidemic of delinquency. Second, many children cannot be reformed outside of institutions, and training schools furnish the only safeguard to society. The rigid discipline which the institution enforces cannot be

supplied elsewhere, and the habits which must be formed can only be acquired under close surveillance. Some judges hold that the first offender gains a very wholesome lesson if he is permitted to serve several months in the training school. The majority of judges, however, do not commit the first offender except in the more flagrant cases. It is wrong to place a child in an industrial or training school until milder methods of reform have failed, since first offenses are not usually so serious as to endanger society to any great extent.

Third, commitment, or its prospect, has a deterring influence, and the effectiveness of the probation system would be reduced but for the fear of the reformatory. Fourth, children suffering from evil homes can be given a much better environment and more homelike surroundings in model institutions such as are arising at the present time. Probation is doomed to failure from the outset if bad boys are allowed to remain in some of the homes from which they came. A change of residence or the "placing-out" of the boys is often impracticable or unwise; accordingly the only remaining course is commitment to an institution.

4. Types of Institutions.

Roughly speaking, institutions may be subdivided into the following types:

The parental school—for minor offenders and children of school age.

The industrial school—established by cities or counties for various classes of offenders.

Reform schools—for the more serious delinquents.

Republics—partly self-governing groups of delinquent children.

a. Parental or Truant Schools.

It has usually been necessary for local boards of education to receive special authority from the state to enable them to establish parental schools, the original limitation being based on the theory that school funds must be used for educational purposes only. It was not clear that the building and operation of a parental school came within the meaning of the original

right, but nevertheless the schools sprang up in many cities. They stand intermediate between the disciplinary school and the industrial or reform school.

The parental school receives children on commitment by the juvenile court. Its function is theoretically to reclaim the wayward, incorrigible, and truant children who defy the school authorities; but in practice it usually receives children sent by the court for minor offenses, whether connected with school or not. The parental school is, however, essentially a part of the educational process. Children should not be sent unless they are ten years old or over, but rigorous discipline is often necessary for the boy in the upper grades, and this can best be provided through a short term in the school. The Chicago school, comprising eight cottages with a capacity of 40 children each, is situated on a farm of 70 acres. Over 400 boys are committed annually. The total enrollment for the year is more than twice the daily membership and the average length of stay is less than six months. About 20 per cent of the population is either recommitted or returned for violation of parole.

In the New York City parental and truant schools a short period of detention is the general rule. Many children remain no longer than two or three months; in fact complaint is often made that time for reformation is not really given. The parental school should restore the child to normal life so as to make his reappearance in court unnecessary. He is under watchful care, receives instruction along both literary and industrial lines, and special emphasis is laid on decorum and behavior. Food, clothing, bedding, medical care, and other services are usually supplied by the school, although part of the burden should in many cases be borne by the parents. Parental schools have been established particularly in the North Atlantic states and in the large western cities, but the number is small and the city or state institution is ordinarily used instead.

b. Training and Industrial Schools.

Many cities or counties containing large cities have established an institution for the more serious or chronic offenders.

Most of these schools have been independently established, but they may be merely a branch of the local penal institution. The term of commitment to such schools is usually a short one, although in some places children remain until their majority. They should not be released until they give evidence that their recommitment will not be necessary, and when released should usually be placed on parole for a limited time under the supervision of a parole officer.

In addition to public institutions of this class a considerable number of public and semi-public training schools exist. These receive children from the courts, care for them and educate them, and frequently place many of them in good family homes. They generally confine themselves to the less serious offenders, however, unless religious considerations enter very strongly. The New York Juvenile Asylum is an example of this type of school. The courts are able to dispose of many children in this way who would otherwise become serious problems. In many states the public does not pay these institutions for the handling of delinquent children.

All training schools should be connected with the local educational system, since in theory they are merely training schools dealing with a class of very difficult cases. The logical sequence of the theory demands that the school become an integral part of the educational work of the community, and managers of such schools are beginning to recognize the fact. Boards of education, however, have been slow to appreciate their responsibility for the education of the delinquent child. The work of an industrial school is essentially educational, although men with social training are needed to manage the institutions.

c. State Reform Schools.

The state reform schools differ somewhat from the group of institutions just discussed. Most states maintain two schools each—one for boys, the other for girls. Cities maintaining industrial schools usually send to the state institution those children who have committed what would be a penitentiary offense if perpetrated by an adult, and these reformatories,

therefore, receive the worst class of juvenile offender. But the sparsely settled districts have no educational institutions; consequently, if a child is committed, he must be sent to the reform school. The less serious offenders from the rural districts and the more depraved classes from the cities are brought together—an evil that cannot be easily corrected.

Many state reform schools admit children up to the age of eighteen years and then classify the inmates so as to make the associations as wholesome as possible, since the less serious offenders and the hardened cases cannot be allowed to mingle with each other. Offenders are sent to these institutions to remain there a considerable period of time; consequently one of two forms of commitment is usually employed, either an indeterminate sentence or commitment during minority. In practice these differ but little, for the indeterminate sentence applied to children ends with their coming of age. Several states, such as Illinois, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, usually follow the indeterminate sentence plan, but most western states commit during minority only. In the latter case the sentence can usually be suspended when in the judgment of the proper authorities the case justifies such action. In the two Massachusetts schools, the actual length of stay before the child is placed on probation for the first time is from nine to twelve months.

d. Republics.

A novel experiment in the treatment of delinquent children has been attempted by the so-called "Republics." The George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, was begun in 1895, and is practically a farm colony of children who exercise very extensive powers of self-government. The enforcement of rules is accomplished largely through the efforts of "citizens," and the arrangements in regard to work and leisure are made in a similar way. The children receive regular instruction from public school teachers, but gain most from actual practice in industrial operations. Although founded on the principle of self-government, the institution cautiously limits the powers

of the children. The inmates may be delinquents ordered to the institution by the courts, or volunteers who consider the Republic an opportunity for self-development, or children in need of training who are sent by parents or guardians. Both boys and girls are admitted.

Seven junior Republics have been established in six states, and others are being contemplated. A National Association of Junior Republics has been formed, in order to promote the idea on which the institutions are based.

5. Principles of Institutional Care.

a. Separation of the Sexes.

The number of boys committed to public institutions for delinquent children is about three times that of girls. One essential of successful control is the separation of the sexes, either through the establishment of separate institutions or of separate departments in the same institution, so conducted that no communication will be possible. Separate institutions entail a considerable duplication of equipment, but insure the necessary separation of the sexes. As the schools for girls are usually small there is danger that they will have incompetent heads, but this difficulty is partly overcome when the two sexes are placed in separate departments of the same institution. The delinquent girl is a most serious problem and cannot have too much attention. Regardless of the specific offense for which they have been committed, a large majority of these girls are immoral and their moral rehabilitation will tax the energies of the most capable superintendents. Separate and well-equipped schools yield the best results.

b. The Cottage System.

The cottage system is most necessary to meet the need of delinquent children, most of whom lack the uplifting and steadying influence of good family life. Certain virtues almost depend upon the home for their perpetuation; for the development of these virtues, home life must be restored as far as possible. In the parental schools to which the younger children are sent, the need of the cottage system is less ap-

parent. Such children are sent for stated periods of time, usually not more than six months, and the chief purpose to be accomplished is submission to authority and the enforcement of discipline. The essential features of the cottage plan are these: separate buildings for each family of children; families not exceeding 25 in number (the best results, however, cannot be achieved unless the size of the group is reduced to about 15); a house father and mother for each cottage; separate dining rooms; and a home life distinct from that of the other cottages. The personnel of each cottage should consist of varied but congenial individuals, so as to reproduce typical home conditions. The children of a family are not of like ages, neither should those of a cottage be, unless the different age groups are liable to contaminate each other.

The progress of the cottage system has been considerably retarded by its great cost. The institution type of building is so much cheaper that the cottage plan has been unpopular on account of the added expense. And where the system has been nominally adopted, the number of persons per cottage has usually ranged from about 40 to 60. The hoped-for individual contacts have therefore failed of realization. Institutions within the borders of a large city seldom hold a sufficient amount of land to attempt the plan at all. The greater the approximation to the family ideal, the surer will be the hope of reformation. The modified cottage plan, on the other hand, is better than the old institution type of building, for with this system come pictures, decorations, and other forms of beautification, all of which serve to inspire and uplift the delinquent. The number of children in reform schools is not so large but that our public agencies can properly develop a fairly successful system based upon the cottage plan.

c. Physical Training.

A very large percentage of delinquents are subnormal physically and mentally. Studies of children in various institutions have clearly brought out the fact of inferior physical condition as well as low mentality. An undoubted effect upon morals is

caused by these subnormalities, and something must be done to overcome them. Complete reformation is not usually accomplished without two important requisites: sufficient good wholesome food and abundant physical exercise. Much of the success of Elmira Reformatory is due to the emphasis which is placed on physical training, and the experience of other reformatories also verifies this principle. After the body has been restored to normal conditions, the child becomes more susceptible to the moral influences with which he is surrounded. Strength, desirable mental attributes, and discipline are promoted by exercise, gymnastics, and military drill. Every well-equipped school is provided with a gymnasium, the use of which for purposes of physical relaxation and moral stimulation cannot be too highly recommended, and stress should be laid upon this feature in the schools for each sex. So large a proportion of delinquents suffer from misfeeding that a carefully supervised dietary is also necessary. This will result in better physical conditions and increased mental alertness. The training school is a moral hospital, and good physique conduces to good morals.

d. Industrial and Literary Training.

Training schools should without exception be located in rural districts where an abundance of pure air can be secured and where ample room is not too costly. Furthermore, the schools should be provided with extensive farming facilities; sufficient buildings can then be erected, farming can be successfully carried on, and ample instruction given in trade and industry. The precise value of the practice in farming depends upon the personnel of the inmates of the institution. If the children have been largely gathered from the rural districts, it is reasonably certain that a considerable proportion will return to the farm or small town, and a better knowledge of farming methods will be a distinct gain. If the great majority of the boys are from the large cities, with no knowledge of farming, nor inclination to study it, practice along this line must be regarded as discipline rather than as an attempt to prepare the

child for his life work. The probability that a boy will migrate to the farm and become successful there is quite remote. The importance of the farm for purposes of industrial training has been overemphasized, but its value for the promotion of good physique and right living cannot be overestimated.

In addition to farming and gardening, the schools aim to give instruction in such trades as the following: carpentering, painting, shoemaking, tailoring, sewing, baking, bricklaying, plastering, and printing. Very properly many institutions are almost entirely supplied by their own inmates with the necessary clothing, bedding, and agricultural produce; buildings are repaired by their own labor; and the laundry, kitchen, and print shop are operated by the delinquents. The training which the average inmate receives equips him for successful competition with other members of his trade when he is released from school. Industrial training, by making a livelihood possible for every inmate, lessens the incentive to continue a career of lawlessness. Furthermore, the great majority of these children are intensely interested in the manual arts to the exclusion of literary education. In the old disciplinary school in New York City a majority of the boys are unable to carry the regular course, a condition ascribed, not to dullness, but to lack of interest in the literary side of education. The boys do enjoy the shop work, and frequently they forget their mischievous tendencies. Inadequate facilities for practice along these lines handicap many of our institutions.

The literary training provided is similar to such training elsewhere. Many of the children are woefully lacking in this respect, but every progressive school grants ample means for the child's education, and in fact insists upon his literary development. Industrial training is usually given precedence, but the combination of the two is necessary in the outside world if the child is to hold his own. Music plays an important part in the life of an institution; especially is this true of schools for boys. The band is not only an educative force, but a disciplinary power, and conduces to the moral elevation of the mem-

bers of the school. Many of the children show considerable talent and inclination in the direction of musical education.

It is more difficult to train girls than boys because of two very grave considerations: ignorance and immorality, both of which are more prevalent among the girls than among the boys. Experiments in preparing them for such high-grade occupations as stenography and typewriting have been comparatively unsuccessful, and professional work is in most instances an absolute impossibility. Trade training is attempted at present in such departments as sewing, millinery, ironing, and occasional forms of factory work, but the girl in industrial establishments is almost wholly without supervision, and therefore is in a dangerous position morally. Special stress is now being placed on preparation for household work and such other occupations as will probably give the girl immediate supervision. In these occupations personal relations can be established between employer and employee. Accordingly an interest in the girl's welfare may be developed, but the high rate of immorality among domestics necessitates the most cautious work in placing the girls. The practice of holding them until appropriate situations can be found for them is a wise one; for unless the utmost care is taken reform will have failed. However the majority of girls when committed were living in their own homes, and many, if not most, of them are returned to parents or relatives. A serious problem often arises because of the failure of the girl's relatives to coöperate with the institutions in a plan for the reclamation of the girl. Accordingly many girls on parole are returned. The statistics for so excellent an institution as the Massachusetts Industrial School for Girls show that in 1921, 133 girls were committed and 67 returned from parole.

e. Discipline.

Present methods of discipline differ widely from those in operation some years ago. The recognition of the fact that the children are not fully responsible for their misdeeds, and that their minds and morals are still growing, serves to throw

emphasis upon the positive upbuilding of character. To lead them to do right and to interest them in things worth while rather than to defy them to do wrong, represents the principle on which proper discipline is based. A premium is placed on the act of doing right and a system of rewards for good conduct instituted, but, if necessary for the reformation of the child, punishment is not withheld. Corporal punishment is seldom used. Segregation in a disciplinary cottage or the curtailment of privileges constitutes the form of punishment enforced in many cases. Inmates come to value the slightest privileges and their removal is not only a hardship but a weighty deterring influence. The increased use of the indeterminate sentence practically grants the inmate the power of releasing himself whenever his conduct justifies his freedom. An institution should be as free as possible from prison features, even though an occasional boy should escape. Modern discipline rightly accommodates itself to this condition, and the gain to the inmates in self-respect is immeasurable.

6. Placing in Family Homes.

This form of treatment must be confined to mild cases, and to those delinquents whose probationary care has resulted so successfully that they can now be thrown on their own responsibility with comparatively little oversight. Even the best institutions cannot prevent children from contaminating each other, and if many institution cases could be isolated in a good home, the chances of improvement would be greatly enhanced. Consequently when a child must be rescued from his own home because of its viciousness, a good home elsewhere is often much better than an institution. An increasing number of children are receiving this form of care. In 1920, 26 states permitted the court to commit children to duly accredited private associations organized for the care of delinquent and dependent children. In some states the child may be committed to the state board of charities or equivalent organization, which will then find an appropriate private home for him and in many states a reputable citizen may be appointed guardian of a delinquent

child. In Massachusetts this system of care is carried on through a division of child guardianship in the state department of public welfare; in New Jersey through the state board of children's guardians, and in several states through county departments of public or child welfare.

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CHAPTER XXVI

MEASURES OF CHILD PROTECTION

1. Introduction.

The essential unity of the problems of delinquency and neglect makes a program of preventive work applicable to both. In dealing with these subjects it is recognized, of course, that the existence of poverty is a prime factor in the problem, and that its removal would mean education, better surroundings, and more wholesome life, but it would not altogether abolish delinquency. Meanwhile practicable methods of child protection must be instituted.

One of the needed steps in a program of child protection is to ascertain additional information in regard to both the immediate and fundamental causes of neglect. A knowledge of the comparative importance of various precipitating causes would be most important in developing methods of preventive work. It would determine what particular program of action should be emphasized, for the effects of immediate causes can be largely nullified by protective measures. Again we may learn the extent to which broken homes are a factor, yet broken homes are themselves a result of causes that must be removed. Our knowledge of causes must likewise be supplemented by the careful study of the results of the present methods of handling delinquent children, so that we may be properly guided in our work.

2. Contributory Delinquency and Non-support Laws.

One method of lessening juvenile delinquency is by the enactment and enforcement of adult or contributory delinquency laws. The purpose of such laws is to force the responsibility of caring for the child upon the rightful authority—

the parents. While the interests of the child must be safeguarded, if possible, this should be done by the parents rather than by the state. Accordingly, if a child becomes a delinquent, and the parents have aided or encouraged such delinquency, both child and parents should come within reach of the law. The parent should be punished in order to encourage him to care properly for his children.

Contributory delinquency laws consist of three principal provisions; first, a parent, guardian, or other person having the custody of a child, who encourages, aids, and contributes to the delinquency of such child, is guilty of a misdemeanor. Second, the guilty person is subject to fine or imprisonment or both. Fines usually range from purely nominal sums to $1000, and imprisonment may be allowed in the county jail for a term not exceeding one year. Third, the judge may suspend the sentence, provided the guilty party complies with the conditions imposed upon him by the court. In a few states the jurisdiction has been placed with the juvenile courts, but in most cases the regular criminal procedure is followed. Some courts have given these laws real vitality by compelling the misdemeanant to pay a small part of the fine imposed upon him or to spend several days in jail as a reminder of his duties and then suspending the remainder of the sentence. Thereafter the guilty parents have seldom neglected to discourage delinquency among their children. Most states, however, have done but little to enforce such laws, the success of which has been hampered by the difficulty of fastening responsibility upon the parent or guardian. It is not purposeful neglect, but ignorance and even helplessness, that frequently accounts for the appearance of complicity.

Colorado was the first state to enact a contributory delinquency law, but similar laws have since been enacted in about one-half of the states. The provisions of the different laws are much alike, but in some states they apply to the larger cities only. The English law of 1908, although inspired by American legislation, is far more drastic in that it provides that parents

may be compelled to pay fines, damages, and costs charged against delinquent children and to give security for the behavior of their children.

An additional method of enforcing parental responsibility consists of compelling the persons legally responsible for the child to pay part or all of the cost of maintaining the latter in an industrial or training school. Such a provision of the law should not be mandatory, but its application be left to the discretion of the court. If parents have been deliberately neglectful, charges for maintenance may be justifiably required of them, but if they have exhausted their resources in training their children, such additional costs will tend to make them harsh and brutal in the treatment of the children. On the other hand, free care of children in parental schools sometimes enables parents to shirk the responsibility of training difficult boys, the parents themselves being foremost in their efforts to have the children committed. Cases have been reported of parents who were unwilling to pay for the temporary placing of their children in foster homes, who finally succeeded in having them sent to industrial schools. Judges have occasionally found it expedient to place parents under an order to contribute a weekly sum to the support of their children in truant schools. In our treatment of the juvenile offender, we have almost neglected the parents, and this is one reason why we have not been more successful. If delinquency becomes costly, parents will develop greater responsibility and delinquency will be reduced.

Laws punishing parents for neglecting and failing to support their children are equally important, as child neglect easily ripens into dependency and delinquency. Instead of waiting until children must be brought into court, we should require parents to exercise a proper guardianship over their children. Frequently when the father refuses to support his family, the mother is compelled to work away from home, while the children are left alone. In many instances this proves most disastrous to the children, especially to the girls, who become restive and sink into immorality. Again, our laws are so inadequate or

are so poorly enforced that a brutal husband is seldom reached; therefore the wife and mother frequently finds it necessary to desert her husband. If this is done, she has no redress, since she is the actual deserter, although the blame should rest upon the man. Furthermore, our desertion and non-support laws do not adequately protect the children, a large number of whom are on the verge of poverty and neglect.

3. Age of Consent Laws.

By the age of consent is meant that age at which a girl can legally consent to sex relations. Any male who has such relations with a girl under this age with or without her consent is guilty of a crime. The purpose of such a law is to protect innocent girls against the wiles and deceptions of vicious men. Formerly the age of consent was ridiculously low, the laws of some states having fixed it at seven years! The gradual recognition of the helplessness of the girl and of the direful consequences of illicit sex relations has resulted in a series of laws raising the age of consent, but the legislation of the different states still varies widely, the age limit fixed by statute ranging from 10 to 18 years, although twenty states now fix the age at 16 years. In some states the law provides a qualified age of consent, as in Missouri, where the limit fixed is 16 years and where girls from 16 to 18 can also be protected provided they are able to prove that they were previously of chaste character. As this is an exceedingly difficult thing to do, the portion of the law relating to the older girls is practically inoperative. In every state the age of consent should be made to correspond with the age limit of juvenile delinquency, which is usually 16 or 17 years. If this were done, it is probable that adequate protection to girls would be afforded.

In some states the law presents a curious anomaly, in allowing common law marriages by girls of 12, while the age of consent is from two to four years higher. This makes temporary marriages with young girls possible and, while such instances are comparatively rare, it tends to defeat the purpose of an age of consent law.

4. Neighborhood Activities.

Among the most valuable forms of work for children are the various activities of settlements, neighborhood centers, institutional churches, and clubhouses. These agencies provide boys and girls with opportunities for the wholesome use of leisure through their clubs, entertainments, classes, and other activities. The organization of boys requires time, thought, and energy, but it is one of the most useful methods of preventing them from doing mischief. The club operates to attract the boy from the street; to give an honorable outlet to his surplus vitality; and to socialize him as well as to prevent his moral decay. Boys will associate with each other and enjoy themselves whether under good auspices or not. They will gather in the most inconceivable places, and frequently in the very shadow of vice and crime. The street gang tends to organize itself unconsciously into a club, and if without proper leaders, establishes itself in a degrading environment. It usually consist of boys of similar ages who differ but little in race and religion; therefore it can easily furnish the raw material for successful organization. A gang usually develops a leader whose authority becomes well-nigh despotic and who is able to develop an orderly club or to complete its demoralization. It is very important therefore to capture this type of boy, as he can be of great service in a neighborhood center.

The homes of many prospective delinquents are so disreputable, and their parents so degraded and incompetent that various activities must be introduced to give the boy an opportunity for wholesome leisure, for games, for sport, for reading, for literary training, for high-minded social intercourse, and for proper physical development. Settlements and clubs must provide advantages which homes, as existing in thousands of instances, can in nowise afford. Some happy antidote is necessary for the squalor and wretchedness of these homes in order to prevent boys from passing to the sinister environment of the street or to other questionable associations. Neighborhood work is not only a hopeful preventive of

juvenile delinquency, but promises to uplift home conditions themselves. Eventually the home may become so attractive that boys will not be anxious to seek amusements elsewhere.

There are two principal types of clubs into which boys may be organized: the large club which they join without the expectation of meeting weekly in an organized capacity; and the small club, limited to perhaps not more than 25 members, which generally acts as a body. The former has in a number of instances achieved a marked success. Its chief purpose is recreation, and the boys may come and go when they please, their chief delights being games and gymnastic advantages. Excellent examples of this kind of club are the downtown Chicago Boys' Clubs, one of which out of an enrollment of hundreds of members contributed only one individual to the juvenile court during a period of five years. The library, gymnasium, playroom, employment bureau, and other facilities—all lessen the tendency to roam the streets and to commit misdemeanors.

Although some settlements encourage the formation of this type of clubs, in the majority of instances they develop the smaller one conducted by a resident or volunteer worker. These clubs are normally organized on an age basis; otherwise much discord prevails. The smaller boys usually indulge in games and sports, intellectual pursuits being quite completely excluded; but boys of 14 or more can more profitably combine debating, dramatics, current topics, and varied literary programs with amusement and social intercourse. To be successful the leader must grant the club the greatest possible amount of self-government, in order that patience, self-control, orderliness, and other desirable qualities may be developed. Responsibility is increased by a policy of requiring initiation fees and regular dues, neither, of course, being prohibitive in amount. These clubs, although they do not reach many individuals, are thoroughly effective in restraining juvenile excesses.

Neighborhood work has also given rise to the Big Brother

and Big Sister Movement, which, although it has accomplished but little as yet, has the inherent capacity of doing much good. The idea behind this movement is simply that of the value of friendship. Men and women are asked to become the dependable friends of the boys and girl in need of counsel and advice. The big brother or sister selects one or more children, becomes interested in them, learns of their home conditions, confers with them regularly, aids them in finding positions, develops their capacity for work, advises them in their choice of pleasures and amusements, counsels them in regard to personal habits, and proves helpful in every possible way. Constructive friendship carried on in this way should develop the boy or girl into a good, capable, self-respecting individual.

The chief obstacle to the development of such a movement is the self-centered life of the man or woman capable of befriending the poor. The number of volunteers is too few, and many who begin to serve in this capacity soon tire and withdraw their assistance. Yet unless personal interest is aroused and people come in direct contact with the poor, the seriousness of their problems will not be appreciated and complete sympathy for the work of reform will not be given.

5. Parks and Playgrounds.

Playgrounds are a factor in reducing juvenile delinquency. Play facilities which will draw the boy between the ages of 12 and 16—the years of greatest delinquency—necessarily lessen the opportunity of such boys to give vent to their surplus energies in unlawful ways. Wholesome sport soon becomes attractive and employs the energies of the boys. The recency of the playground movement makes it impossible to judge of its exact moral effects; and the relative value of playgrounds for small children and of those for larger boys has not been determined. To be successful the playground must attract the boy of juvenile court age. The small child may be influenced, but the effects cannot be easily measured. For the older children, however, the rate of juvenile delinquency furnishes a good test of the moral values of the playground.

The influences exerted on a community by a playground have been definitely studied in Chicago. Here the establishment of recreation centers was shown to have a decisive effect in reducing juvenile delinquency in the neighborhoods contributing to these centers. Furthermore, in those districts where the population was comparatively stationary, the greatest reduction in delinquency occurred, and the percentage of successful probation cases was much increased. In a similar way these civic centers have reduced the number of pernicious pleasure resorts and dance halls in the neighborhood. They have furnished opportunity for enjoyment under wholesome conditions, but have incurred the enmity of the doubtful amusement places.

A brief survey of the outcome of playground work in St. Louis corroborates the experience of Chicago.[1] From the neighborhood of the playgrounds the number of juvenile delinquents is but a small proportion of that coming from the less favored sections of the city. Elsewhere the experience of teachers and probation officers shows that bad boys frequently yield to reformatory treatment when opportunities for play and exercise, or club work are provided. Without doubt, play facilities are a considerable factor in the development of moral fiber and in the reduction of juvenile delinquency.

6. Prevention of Idleness.

That idleness is a cause of mischief has been well expressed in adage and epigram. While idleness produces crime and delinquency, it is also a cause of many lesser evils, which are not usually charged against it. It makes people irregular in habits, undermines their character, develops a spirit of indolence, and saps the vigor and ambitions of its victims. Child idleness is a curse which in our cities blights the homes of both the wealthy and the poor. One of the great character-developing agencies in the rural districts is farm life with its steadying effect upon mind and morals. The country child attends school and uses part of the day in play, but almost

[1] Annual Report, Division of Parks and Recreation, 1922, St. Louis, Mo.

without exception he is charged with some small responsibilities about the house or farmyard, and is expected to perform some regular piece of work. In the evening he may be required to gather the eggs, feed the pigs, or assist in milking the cows—work that does not unduly tax his energies, but which is useful labor and lightens the burdens of father and mother. Better yet, it develops habits of industry which are responsible for the many successes which country boys have attained.

These considerations do not justify child labor in its technical sense. On the contrary, they condemn it, for the labor of children in factory and store does not develop the good habits mentioned. The child idleness that prevails in the cities with all its attendant evils must be prevented. The boy suffers from this handicap much more than does the girl, who can assist her mother in the home and perform many useful duties which will develop habits of industry and regularity. On the other hand, the boy often finds little to do and parents refuse to permit him to do the tasks which he might perform. This is especially true among the well-to-do, who employ servants and laborers for the performing of all necessary work about the house and yard, yet young boys could receive no better training than to be given the responsibility for a limited amount of daily work. During the spring and fall month when the gardens can be used, such opportunities should always be available. Many of the worthless, idle rich of to-day owe their uselessness to the folly of their parents, who have pampered them and spoiled them for the regular, industrious life necessary for useful service.

The poor boy in the city faces actual difficulties. Probably he can neither have a workshop nor any other special facilities for the practice of handiwork, and a garden is usually beyond his reach. Perhaps a number of household duties may remain for him to perform, and if so, it will be to his advantage. If not, then the community, through its social agencies, should seek to provide him with a regular routine of action. Some of his time may well be spent in organized play; some

must be given to practice in developing the qualities that are needed to make successful men. How this shall be done is an open question, but is one that must be considered and solved. The school garden and vacation school in summer, the opportunities afforded by churches and social agencies in winter offer some advantages, but are only a step in the right direction. Probably the schools will find it necessary to control a larger portion of the daily life of the older children, the additional hours to be used in a manner consistent with the development of character and habits of industry.

7. **The Training of Parents.**

The failure of parents to become big brothers and big sisters to their children is one cause of the low ideals of many children. It is parents, not volunteer workers, who *should* counsel and guide and befriend their children. The better education of parents for the duties that accompany parenthood is a profound necessity, and if such instruction cannot be given to the boy and girl in school, then settlements and other social agencies must perform the service. It is clear from the evidence of our juvenile courts that many parents are utterly unable to give their children proper training. They do not seem to understand the elements of good citizenship, nor the requisites of ordinary law, nor the moral dangers of the city. Likewise they know but little of child nature and of correct methods of discipline. Accordingly their children become unmanageable, disobedient, unsteady in habits, and are gradually demoralized. It is difficult, however, to reach parents, although the various neighborhood centers through their mothers' meetings, men's clubs, and individual instruction can accomplish something. Probation and truant officers when once they regard their bad boys and girls as family symptoms, will be capable of effectual work. In all this work emphasis must be placed on the important social functions of the home, and parents must be made to realize that the state requires the adequate training of the youth. Undoubtedly the best time to begin training for parenthood is during the period of ado-

lescence and when young people begin to take life seriously. This is the time at which training can be made most effective, but whether it shall be given through the schools or the churches or other agencies is still unsettled. One conclusion, however, is clear—the training must be given.

8. Reduction of Personal Vice.

Because so large a proportion of the lesser criminals or minor offenders are young men under 25 years of age, the causes of their criminality must be sought in conditions growing out of the home, the schools, or their employment. The conviction is strongly warranted that the intemperance of parents, especially of fathers, is demoralizing to a large number of boys and girls. If it does not lead to delinquency in children, it does cause shiftlessness and irregular habits and intemperance which crop out in early manhood, giving us a considerable share of our workhouse population. It was shown by the Committee of Fifty that intemperance was a factor in practically one-half of the major crimes committed; that it contributed to the pauperism of 41.55 per cent of the almshouse population investigated; that it was a cause of about 27.8 per cent of the poverty relieved by charitable societies; and that 45.8 per cent of the destitute children studied owed their condition to the intemperance of parents or guardians.[1]

The adoption of national prohibition has already greatly lessened the evil of intemperance, but the large cities still suffer from the scourge and as a consequence child life continues to suffer. The entire elimination of intoxicants as beverages will constitute an inestimable boon to the growing youth of our land. Abstinence spells physical and moral progress. Furthermore those forms of social activity that stimulate strength of character are greatly to be desired. Not only do they create a good social environment but they vitalize morals as well.

Another wholesome reform consists of the efforts to prohibit the use of tobacco by young boys. When boys are not under

[1] *Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem*, pp. 121, 130, 155.

careful supervision, they frequently become addicted to the tobacco habit, and in many cases the parents actually encourage it. An important need is the enactment and enforcement of laws prohibiting the selling of cigarettes to boys under 17 or 18 years of age. The tobacco habit, if acquired by young boys, frequently leads to other vices of a more serious nature, but if the habit has not been formed, the training of children is usually less difficult.

9. Additional Measures of Protection.

In addition to the subjects discussed we find that a large proportion of the methods of improving the conditions of children are also measures which result in the reduction of juvenile delinquency. As these measures are discussed in other parts of the book they can only receive mention here, but such mention is necessary to indicate that they form a part of a comprehensive plan of child protection. Among these measures are the following:

(1) Regulation of the Street Trades.
(2) The Prevention of Truancy.
(3) Vocational Training.
(4) The Wider Use of Schools.
(5) Censorship of Commercial Amusements.
(6) The Institutional Care of Feeble-minded Girls.
(7) Sex and Moral Education.
(8) Protection of Illegitimate Children.

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PART VI

PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILD

1. Definitions.

The dependent child is one thrown on the public for support. The neglected child is one who is destitute, homeless, abandoned, dependent on the public for support; one who habitually begs or receives alms; one who is found in any house of ill fame, or with any vicious or disreputable person; or one who is suffering from the depravity or cruelty of its parents or other persons in whose care he may be. Although these are typical definitions of these two classes of children, it will appear at once that the dependent child may be included under the other group. The definition for the neglected child is also very similar to that frequently given for the juvenile delinquent. Dependent and neglected children are not separated by hard and fast lines; nor are the neglected from the delinquents. They are all members of a series with the dependent and delinquent groups at the extremes. Our present methods of social work are such, however, that similar treatment of these classes is not always desirable.

2. Types of Dependents.

There are many dependent and neglected children representing numerous types and forms of dependency. One group of children consists of those who are crippled or deformed from birth. Although their number is not large, accommodations for their care are usually lacking, and thus they become a grievous burden to their parents and fail to receive the attention which they merit. A portion are curable, or may at least be made partially self-supporting, if they are provided with the proper medical and educational facilities.

A second class includes illegitimate children, foundlings, and abandoned infants. Society has very unjustly charged such children with the blame of their ignoble birth, and their entire lives are often spent under the handicap of such a terrible injustice. These infants deserve every consideration given to the legitimate child, and equal provision for their care should be made. In the United States the number of illegitimate children is relatively small and the number of foundlings quite insignificant except in the large cities, where shame can be concealed and where poverty often pinches.

A large number of children, especially in our industrial centers and in the congested portions of our cities, cannot be comfortably provided for by their parents. Frequently the mother is forced to spend the day in the factory, and her children are either neglected or placed in the care of a small daughter—a "child mother." Again, among the poor, medical attention is often omitted because financial means are wanting, and accordingly children do not recover fully from disease; scars, traces, and minor defects remain, and sometimes more serious defects permanently handicap the child. This group of children constitute a semi-neglected class, and the neglect frequently leads to such conditions of subnormality as will render the individual barely self-supporting on his reaching maturity.

The largest group of children considered in this class are those who for various reasons are partially or completely dependent upon society. Many are without natural family support, owing to the desertion of the father or mother, to separation and divorce, or to the death of one of the parents; and some are orphans—too young to support themselves. In some cases parents are temporarily or permanently disabled and the children must be given temporary relief, but in other instances parents are simply not able to provide for their children.

A closely related type is the neglected child for whom his parents fail to care so that he suffers physically or morally and often mentally as well. Cases such as these illustrate the type.

A girl was whipped and maltreated by her mother, who on one occasion put hot curling irons on the girl's arm and at another time cut her with glass. A little boy suffered from nose and throat troubles that began to affect his hearing. The school teachers pleaded with the parents but they did nothing until the boy was threatened with total deafness. Neglect does not necessarily depend on the economic condition of the parents, but is largely the result of an attitude of mind. It is this which frequently differentiates such a case from that of dependency and makes another form of disposition necessary. The solution of the problem of the neglected child often means the disruption rather than the preservation of the home.

3. Causes of Dependency.

The prevention of dependency furnishes one of the most difficult of all child problems. A very large percentage of dependency is due to fundamental conditions that cannot easily be remedied, and a radical reconstruction of social relations would be necessary to prevent its regular recurrence. Hereditary influences, unexpected death of parent or natural supporter, industrial maladjustment, poverty, sickness, and many other causes of dependency are hard to control. Nevertheless the situation is not hopeless; much dependency among children can be mitigated; and some of it can be entirely prevented, especially since the causes differ materially from the causes of dependency among adults. The German statistics compiled by Böhmert in 1893, based on the cases of 13,000 children, are still valuable for comparative purposes. According to these figures the chief causes of dependency were distributed as follows: orphanage, 38.75 per cent; lack of work, 14.90; sickness, etc., 11.88; abandonment, 11.66; imprisonment of guardian, 4.70; abuse and neglect, 4.5; sickness of guardian, 4.34; laziness of guardian, 3.49; drunkenness of guardian, 1.54; mental or physical defect in guardian, 1.74. The remaining causes are of minor importance. According to Böhmert, one-fourth of the children are dependent, owing to causes controlled by their parents or guardians, but this estimate includes

only the more obvious forms of parental neglect and omits lack of work, sickness, and, of course, orphanage. To a large degree lack of work depends on the inefficiency of the parent, and is a remediable evil; furthermore, much sickness could be avoided by the exercise of a little more intelligence, and by improving conditions in factories and workshops. The amount of unnecessary dependency is therefore much larger than the estimate given above. The lessening of the death rate through the decrease of the number of accidents, better sanitation, the elimination of certain diseases especially prevalent among the poor, and the reduction of our occupational mortality will decrease the aggregate amount of orphanage.

Contrasted with these figures are some American statistics of interest, especially those formerly collected by the New York Board of Charities.[1] These figures are based on a compilation from reports sent by local agencies to the state board, and are somewhat lacking in accuracy, because of the many interpreters of the causes of dependency, but the large number of cases reduces the element of error.

CAUSES OF DEPENDENCY	PERCENTAGE	
	1910–11	1916
1. Desertion of parent	11.8	4.7
2. Neglect, intemperance, immorality, or imprisonment	6.5	4.6
3. Improper guardianship	7.1	13.4
4. Sickness, physical or mental incapacity	16.1	22.1
5. Unemployment or insufficient earnings	6.4	6.6
6. Child an orphan, foundling, or illegitimate	17.3	14.5
7. Child delinquent or vagrant	13.8	12.6
8. Destitution	15.0	8.5
9. Child ill or defective	.8	3.5
10. Parent employed and unable to give home care	4.8	6.9
11. Parents separated	.4	.4
Number of cases	29,137	9,054

These proximate causes of dependency need further examination in many instances, in order to learn the ultimate causes

[1] See report of State Board of Charities of New York, 1912, 1917.

to which they are related. It is clear, however, that a large proportion of the given causes must lie within the control of society. More than one-fourth of the children are suffering because of the vice and neglect of parents, and nearly one-sixth are delinquent,—a condition largely due to the fault of parents. Sickness and incapacity account for about one-fifth of the cases and direct poverty, including insufficient earnings, is responsible for more than one-fourth of the dependency in the former period and slightly less in the latter. How much individuals are to blame for this condition is not brought out, nor can this be done with any degree of accuracy. Nearly all of the shortcomings of the individual are, to some extent, affected by social conditions. An adequate program of social reform should remove most of the conditions which handicap the individual, who in turn neglects or handicaps his children.

The parental condition of dependent children is an important factor in our problems. In the following table this is shown for children in New York state; for the dependent children in Delaware studied by the Children's Bureau; for the residents of the Minnesota School in the years 1921-22; and for children in some of the institutions in St. Louis.

PARENTAL CONDITION	NEW YORK 1921	DELAWARE 1917	MINNESOTA 1921–22	ST. LOUIS 1917
Number of cases	30,413	513	432	669
Parents living, per cent	39.1	49.3	52.3	39.0
Half-orphans, per cent	46.0	28.2	41.4	44.4
At least one parent living, per cent	...	15.5	...	...
Orphans, per cent	7.4	3.0	5.0	16.6
Foundlings, illegitimate and unknown, per cent	7.5	4.0	1.3	...

These figures indicate that the problem of dependency is not largely a problem of orphanage. A small proportion of the children are orphans, but in no case more than one-sixth of the total number. About 40 per cent, however, are half-orphans, and in these cases the remaining parent is usually unable or unwilling to care for the child or children and to

earn her own support as well. Most of these surviving parents are women.

In about 40 per cent of the cases both parents are living but in Minnesota this group seems to constitute a majority. In many cases it is true that they are not living together, but that fact makes the problem of rehabilitating these homes one which needs our urgent study. Few cases of dependency have much justification when both parents are alive, and in most instances our charitable societies should be able to compel support from the parents or relatives rather than remove the child from the home. This, however, does not apply in cases of cruelty or neglect.

The illegitimate child is usually the victim of the ignorance, poverty, bad home conditions or low mentality of the mother. In Chicago one-fourth out of 163 girls studied did not know the consequences of their act. Kammerer found that bad home conditions were the major factor in nearly 40% of the cases. Child labor and low wages are also partly to blame and immorality is a factor of alarming importance. Over 45 per cent of the unmarried mothers are under 21 at the time of the birth of the child. In some communities the percentage of young women is even higher.

Fortunately the proportion of illegitimate children in the United States is much smaller than in most European countries. In Austria, for example, the rate for many years has ranged between 12 and 15% of all births while in Netherlands and Ireland it has been limited to less than three. However, it is likely that about 600,000 illegitimate births occur in Europe every year. In this country the rate reported by the Bureau of the Census for the birth registration area in 1921 was 2.2 per cent. For the white population it was 1.4 and for the negro 12.5%. Applying these rates to the entire country we find that the probable number of white illegitimate births in that year was 35,000 and among negroes of practically the same number. However, the recorded rates are no doubt lower than the actual figures. The burden of illegitimacy is some-

what greater than indicated by the foregoing figures. Among the whites the rates are apparently somewhat higher in the cities than in the rural districts. This disparity, however, is in part due to the tendency of country girls to come to the cities for confinement. On the other hand the city girl is much more adept than her rural cousin in the art of concealing her immorality either by procuring an abortion or by the use of other methods. It is a singular fact that although rates are high in Europe they are extremely low among our immigrant groups. Nevertheless the problem of the illegitimate child is a constantly growing one and a problem that is taxing the ingenuity of the best social workers of the country.

The large families among the poor are an additional cause of dependency. Rowntree showed that in York, England, the proportion of actual poverty due to the existence of large families was 22.16 per cent, the death of one of the parents in such cases almost necessarily making the children at least partially dependent. Frequently temporary aid in the home is sufficient to meet such needs, but often the family must be separated. Excessive reproduction, coupled with precarious economic conditions, makes considerable relief necessary.

The number of dependent children is closely related to the prevailing relief policy. Certain systems foster the increase of dependents, while others as faithfully diminish their number, unwise philanthropy undoubtedly accentuating the problem. The orphanage and institution have not reduced dependency to a minimum, but have rather tended to prevent the greatest possible reduction. The proportion of dependent children in the state of New York, which relies chiefly on the institution is much larger than in other states where placing-out methods are used. However, there are other reasons why New York should have an unusually large number of dependent children.

The causes of neglect differ somewhat from those of dependency. Before the advent of prohibition, alcoholism was probably the largest single factor. Various societies for the

prevention of cruelty to children reported that neglect, suffering, and the grosser forms of cruelty imposed on children were largely due to the brutality of drunken parents. A study of 1000 neglected children appearing before the juvenile court of St. Louis disclosed intemperance among a great majority of the fathers and about one-half of the mothers. Intemperance has contributed to incompetency, to broken homes and is the parent of brutality.

Immediately after the enforcement of the prohibition law a great transformation occurred. Intoxicants were not easily obtained and the social agencies at once felt the results. Neglect cases due to brutality and drunkenness were decidedly reduced in number. The two years immediately following the adoption of prohibition produced better results than the succeeding year. It appears that a larger number of irresponsible parents again obtained alcoholic liquors with consequences as before. The complete elimination of intoxicating beverages is an untold blessing for the child life of a nation.

Another characteristic of neglect cases is the immorality of parents.

Formerly it stood second only to alcoholism as an unfavorable social characteristic. The study made in Delaware by the Federal Children's Bureau reports that "more than one-fifth of the children removed from their parental homes were from households where one or both parents were reported as immoral." This percentage is considered as an understatement of the facts due to the conservative method of classifying cases. Our domestic relations and juvenile courts and our girls' protective societies are constantly revealing an immense amount of immorality, nevertheless a child is not removed from his home until a most flagrant situation arises.

Parents are often mentally and morally incompetent. The weak-minded child needs to be safeguarded against such parents, but often the child himself is practically normal. He becomes the victim of gross stupidity and quickly degenerates. Frequently he will suffer from malnutrition, but the general in-

competency of the parents may lead to a great variety of forms of neglect. Even the child of the well-intentioned but feeble-minded parents is likely to suffer.

Abnormal family conditions play an important part in causing neglect. From the St. Louis study to which we have just referred, it appears that the actual percentage of broken homes among these children was 70.5; separation and divorce were responsible for 33.4, the death of one parent for 27.7, orphanage for 4.3, and illegitimacy for 4.8.

Less than 30 per cent of the parents lived together. Is it any wonder then that the children were neglected? These extraordinary conditions are, however, secondary causes, produced either by peculiar social maladjustments or individual peculiarities, or a combination of the two. While desertion is a large factor, it is itself due to the bad habits of husband or wife, to general incompatibility, and to lack of employment. The evasion of moral responsibility is the principal immediate cause.

Irresponsibility takes other forms. Fathers refuse to turn over to mothers a sufficient portion of the income to make proper care of the children possible. Again parents allow children to indulge in pernicious associations, to beg, to frequent resorts and gambling houses, to sleep away from home, and to sell papers or appear on the stage at an early age; they refuse to give the children proper medical attention, thus frequently jeopardizing their health or lives. Cruelty takes such gross forms as beating, kicking, and similar abuses; and children who are frightened by excessive corporal punishment often become refractory, and perhaps incorrigible. Boys are driven away from home, they drift from bad to worse until their pitiable condition draws attention, and the public or philanthropy intervenes. It is unfortunate that neither the wife-beater nor the child-beater has become extinct. The desire of children in the great majority of cases to go with the mother on her separation from the father indicates the worthlessness and cruelty of the father.

The twin evils of ignorance and poverty are factors of considerable importance, and as with the delinquent child, so with the neglected, a large majority come from inferior homes situated in the disreputable portions of the city. That the economic status of the family yielding neglect cases is precarious is indicated by careful observation of the facts. Here, however, poverty is distinctly an effect as well as a cause and is often merely part of a vicious circle.

An excellent illustration of the types of social conditions which these societies must meet is furnished by the analysis of the problems numbering over 11,000 which complicated the 4385 cases of children brought before the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty in 1922. The proportion of times that the principal factors appeared is given in the following table:

FACTORS	PERCENTAGE OF CASES IN WHICH FACTOR IS DOMINANT	PERCENTAGE OF CASES IN WHICH FACTOR APPEARS
Physical neglect	14.2	37.1
Moral neglect	12.1	31.8
Non-support	9.1	24.0
Intemperance	7.7	20.1
Delinquency	7.7	20.1
Illegitimacy	6.7	17.7
Separation of parents	6.7	17.7
Medical neglect	6.3	16.6
Widowed parent	6.2	16.0
Desertion	5.2	13.5
Other factors, including cruelty, feeble-mindedness, violation of chastity, etc.	18.1	43.5

It appears that physical neglect was a factor in three out of eight cases and that moral neglect followed closely in importance. Intemperance still complicated every fifth case and in 17.7% of the cases the given fact of illegitimacy was an attending feature. This variety of causes might daunt the faint-hearted, but to the social worker they furnish insight into the problems of human nature that must be faced.

4. Number of Dependent Children.

It would be impossible even to estimate the total number of children in the United States who are receiving relief in some form. The majority of families aided by the charitable societies or public relief agencies contain children, so, in these cases, the children are considered minor parts of the family and do not receive special attention. It is the dependent and neglected children living apart from their parents either in institutions or foster homes, that receive particular notice, and special children's agencies have arisen to care for them. The number of these it was possible to make a reasonable estimate for, based on the Census of 1910, but serious changes may have taken place in subsequent years. In that year the orphanages and children's homes contained 107,401 children and placed out 14,034. The child placing agencies handled 59,073. It thus appears that about 180,000 children passed through the institutions and agencies studied, but many illegitimate children, foundlings and cripples were counted under other heads. Without doubt the total number of dependent children cared for in 1910 considerably exceeded 200,000.

There is little reason to conclude that the number of children in institutions has declined, although in some states a decline has undoubtedly taken place. However, the proportion of dependent children in institutions is much less than formerly. The evolution of child care in New York clearly illustrates this change. Until 1916 the number of children in institutions steadily rose but since then has declined, a decrease of over 4000 being registered in the five years preceding 1921. In that year the institutions of the state contained 31,125 children, but nearly 4000 were boarded-out by public agencies and 30,469 were cared for in their own homes, that is, their mothers were the beneficiaries of the state mothers' pension law. In all over 65,000 children were given aid contrasted with 45,820 five years before.

The general decline in institution population is attributed by the New York officials to mothers' pensions, prohibition,

better case work by local overseers of the poor, the placing-out movement and to better family case work. However, the total number of children aided was nearly twice as large in 1921 as in 1910.

Massachusetts has registered a similar expansion of work both in its public child-placing departments and in the granting of allowances to mothers. The pension system did not exist in 1910 but in 1921 the state assisted in aiding more than 10,000 children under this plan. In a number of other states and particularly in the large cities the pension plan is proving a boon to thousands of children belonging to types that were formerly given institutional care or were neglected altogether.

In spite of these transformations those states in which many public or private orphanages and homes have been established continue to house an abnormal proportion of children within their walls. Among these states are New York, California, Pennsylvania and Ohio. There are more than 1000 children's institutions in the country, the vast majority of which are maintained under denominational or religious auspices. In fact they represent one of the leading ecclesiastical philanthropies. The Roman Catholic Church, particularly, has provided very extensive machinery for the institutional care of the dependent children of its adherents.

The societies organized for the aid, protection and placing-out of children numbered 212 in 1910 and a small number of societies must have been established since then. However the theory of social organization does not allow of any considerable increase in number, and figures for the present, if known, would hardly vary much from the number given. State or county systems, welfare leagues or charity organization societies often absorb these functions and accordingly prevent the creation of new agencies. But the work of these societies has been greatly expanded and a larger number of children are becoming their beneficiaries. The aggregate number of children served annually by children's institutions, child-placing protective societies, and by mothers' pensions is much larger

than the number tabulated for 1910. If New York is typical of the United States then the total number would approximate 300,000.

Probably the number is even larger. In many states the mothers' pension laws have added a larger proportion of children to the total number cared for and as a consequence the rate of increase over 1910 is very likely more than 50 per cent. Miss Lundberg suggests that 200,000 children may now be the beneficiaries of mothers' pensions alone.[1] Such a figure would indicate an increase in cases over 1910 amounting to nearly 100 per cent. Certain it is that the provision for dependent children in recent years is much more liberal than it was in 1910.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

PROBLEMS AND PRINCIPLES OF CHILD SAVING

As was shown in the previous chapter, social workers must deal with several types of dependent children. Each group raises a separate set of problems, and therefore different methods of control must be devised. This is especially true of four classes of children: the deserted, the illegitimate, those without homes or removed from their homes, and the defective classes.

Certain principles which can be generally applied, will be considered first, and certain special problems connected with particular classes will be studied later.

1. General Principles of Child Saving.

Social workers were long divided into two camps on the question of the proper method of caring for dependent children. One party advocated the institution plan and favored the orphanage, the children's home, the permanent home, and the industrial school where children should be brought up to adult life. Without natural supporters they would, it was believed, prosper better in some institution where discipline, education, moral instruction, good environment, physical training, and other advantages could be provided. This party also pointed to the defects of the placing-out system, and spoke of its unsatisfactory results. The advocates of the latter system, on the other hand, insisted on the absence of real family life in the institution and declaimed against the evils of congregate living. They claimed great advantages for the home and contended that life away from the temptations and pitfalls of a large city and outside of an institution would yield the best results. Even the temporary home was opposed by the most radical advocates of the placing-out system.

The contending parties finally sought to harmonize their differences. Some good in institutions was discovered on the one hand and the value of the placing-out system was definitely recognized on the other. In 1899 the National Conference of Charities and Correction adopted a report which ended the strife and set forth the principles of child saving on a permanent basis. These principles are restated in the report of 1906,[1] and an elaborate exposition was published in the Report of the White House Conference held in 1909.[2]

a. Principles Asserted at the White House Conference.

The principles concerning which there was substantial agreement among the social workers called together by President Roosevelt are the following:

(1) Preservation of home ties wherever possible.
(2) The paramount importance of preventive work.
(3) The superiority of the foster home as a substitute for the natural home.
(4) The adoption of the cottage plan for institutions.
(5) The incorporation of child-caring agencies.
(6) State inspection of the work of child-caring agencies.
(7) Education in institutions as part of the public educational system.
(8) The keeping of adequate records.
(9) Physical care.
(10) Coöperation among child-caring agencies.
(11) Undesirability of legislation by states so as to handicap the placing-out of children from other states.
(12) The need of a national association for the care of dependent children.
(13) A federal children's bureau.

b. The Importance of the Home.

The home is an institution fundamental to our civilization and its preservation must be rigidly guarded. The duties taken from the home must not be so numerous as to lessen the co-

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906, pp. 87-89.
[2] The *Survey*, February 20, 1909.

hesive force of this civilizing power. In fact, the state is using the home as one of its means of achieving further progress; but in all cases the children are wards of the state, which may interfere with private arrangements when the rights of the child are flagrantly violated. In the majority of cases the state merely assumes the position of overseer or supervisor, and allows parents to carry on the work of properly providing for their children. Wherever possible, the responsibility of the parents is enforced, and the interference of the state limited to the insistence that parents perform their social obligations—a work which must be done within the home. Consequently any action which interferes with the sanctity and dominion of a home must be wisely planned and must not weaken the integrity of the institution. The breaking up of a home is a serious act, and justifiable only under exceptional conditions. No other agency has given the child the advantages and opportunities offered by an ordinary home. No substitute has been found for a mother's love. No other person is so ambitious for a child's success as is his father. Nevertheless the rights of society are paramount, and if its interests will be plainly served by such action, then the breaking up of the home is right and expedient.

c. The Foster Home.

The problem of the dependent and neglected child often becomes the question of the re-formation of family and home ties. The state may be compelled to take upon itself the direct duties of parent, since the proper parental authority has failed. But even in removing the child from its home, the bond of parental affection must not be overlooked, and when a difficulty is not permanent, the home should rarely be broken up. Every reasonable effort should be made to keep together the family of a worthy and willing widow or widower, but a certain class of homes cannot remain unmolested. The gross neglect and cruelty cases often require that the child be permanently removed, and this action may often be necessary if parents are immoral. While the burden of proof to show pa-

rental incompetency rests upon the state, it is right to interfere with the natural home relations when it becomes evident that the children cannot be properly protected otherwise.

The well-regulated home being usually regarded as the best medium in which to develop the growing boy or girl, the best alternative for a good original home is a carefully selected foster home. Here the child has the advantage of contact with his foster parents and with his playmates and is in touch with wholesome life. The normal child must meet persons and children of all ages; otherwise his complete development cannot be secured. When placed in the home the child enjoys these advantages, but an institution is necessarily surrounded by artificial conditions, and therefore cannot provide the training which natural contacts make possible. The ultimate goal is to secure the adoption of the child by the family, but if that is not possible, to have him placed in a free home subject to regular supervision by the home-finding society. Childless couples are frequently anxious to adopt one or more promising children, and partiality of parents toward particular children is not likely in such cases. The right to remove the child placed on probation in a family protects the children who have been unfortunately located, and similar rights of rejection allow would-be foster parents to release undesirable children. If free foster homes cannot be obtained, boarding-out in private families is often necessary.

d. The Cottage Plan.

The cottage plan is as desirable for institutions caring for dependent children as for those containing juvenile delinquents. As the merits of the system have been discussed in a previous chapter, no repetition of the argument is necessary. In view of the fact that more than 100,000 children in the United States are at the present time inmates of institutions for dependent children, the adoption of the cottage plan is an important consideration. The large majority of institutions are found within city limits, and but a small proportion of all our institutions have adopted the cottage plan. Although the

desirability of the system is fully recognized among social workers, the financial condition of institutions has prevented them from introducing the cottage system as rapidly as desirable. To meet this shortcoming it is the more necessary for home-finding societies to exert themselves to the utmost to find suitable homes for the dependent children. Furthermore, if the public realized more fully the value of the cottage plan, the necessary funds for its installation might be forthcoming. At present, however, the people do not appreciate its importance.

The good results obtained in a well-conducted institution following the cottage plan have produced a slight reaction from the principle that institutions for normal children should be entirely supplanted by some other form of treatment. It has been difficult to find a sufficient number of good foster homes, as careful societies cannot indorse half of the homes applying for children. Investigation of homes requires time and effort, and children must frequently be removed and placed again. The question arises, in view of the difficulties encountered by placing-out societies, would not an institution modern in every respect serve the community with an equal degree of success? This question is urged by the men who are trying to make the institution a success, although if enough good homes were available, the problem would not arise. It is entirely possible for a well-conducted institution which separates its children into small groups of 15 or 20 each to produce very satisfactory results.

e. State Supervision and Incorporation of Private Agencies.

The incorporation of child-caring agencies is desirable in order to increase the responsibility of such societies—to give them a legal standing and to insure for them the confidence of the public. Philanthropic men hesitate to give money to charities of doubtful efficiency, therefore many of the most prominent agencies have voluntarily become incorporated before legal compulsion was considered. However, numerous small societies of uncertain standing would probably discontinue if incorporation were made obligatory. A greater measure of con-

trol over such charities would also be realized, and their general efficiency enhanced.

The work of private philanthropy is being increasingly regarded as properly subject to the supervision of the state. This applies to hospitals, dispensaries, homes, etc., as well as to institutions and agencies caring for dependent children. In every state some of the work for children is done by private agencies, for no state has developed a complete system of public child-caring. In order that private charity may do efficient work, some form of state supervision is necessary, but this reform has proceeded very slowly. Many states provide for reports from small private agencies receiving children from public authorities or receiving public moneys; for example, institutions receiving children from the juvenile court, or agencies taking dependent children that have been declared public wards. In addition to systematic reports to the state, inspection by the proper state authorities is required. The Illinois law, for example, requires the Department of Visitation of Children to visit children placed in homes by the courts, boards of supervisors, overseers of the poor, and by institutions receiving public funds for the care of dependent and delinquent children. The agency not handling any public cases has been regarded as not subject to such requirements.

Some states go farther and insist on the supervision of certain private agencies that are in no way related to public philanthropy. Among these agencies are hospitals, maternity homes, and "baby farms." So much abuse is connected with the two latter types of agencies, that strict regulation and control are necessary, and special laws have been passed in several states to meet these needs. While some agencies are specially included, others, such as incorporated agencies, are often omitted from the groups subject to state supervision.

There is a third step—the state supervision of all private child-caring agencies, but this involves knowledge of the work and of the standards of institutions and of the efficiency of placing-out societies. The Indiana law requires every private

child-caring agency to secure an annual license from the state board of charities. Adequate control is thus made possible, but actual results depend on the efficiency of the state board. Investigations must be made from time to time, obtaining full reports of the work done in order to make state inspection worth while.

f. Records.

Adequate records are needed for several reasons, therefore the results of the social diagnosis so far as it affects the child and his family should be carefully recorded. This is not information for the sake of facts, but information to be used as the vehicle for conveying the child to his destination. Unfortunately many facts considered by some as irrelevant prove to be most necessary for the ultimate solution of the case. Furthermore, the facts relating to causes should be clearly understood and included, but records are frequently imperfect in this respect. It is very important to study causes, for in this way we learn how to develop means of prevention.

g. Coöperation.

The value of coöperation among child-saving societies cannot be too strongly emphasized. Hard and fast lines between dependent and delinquent children are no longer favored, and the essential unity of the two problems involved is now being recognized. Again, the functions of the juvenile court are being very properly expanded; and this enables private agencies to coöperate with the courts in the handling of cases. Furthermore, greater coöperation between home-finding and aid societies and societies taking charge of cruelty cases is desirable; and institutions could make better arrangements than heretofore with these societies and could employ them for the placing out of some of their children. Many institutions, however, insist on being filled to the extent of their capacity, such a position making coöperation impossible.

The methods of coöperation are various. The development of the social service exchange enables the different organizations to compare experiences and duplication of effort can thus be avoided. Two obstacles, however, limit the unmitigated

success of this plan; some of the agencies, particularly the denominational societies, are reluctant to join the exchange, and the actual members often do not make full use of the services which the exchange can render.

Coöperation is also promoted through the mediation of such federations as community councils or councils of social agencies. These councils usually constitute committees dealing with the problem of dependent and neglected children and through such committees the various children's aid and protective societies and institutions learn of each other, develop toleration and later invite coöperation. The efforts of such bodies will lead to the use of standard record blanks, higher standards of physical and medical care, more adequate investigation of children pending their admission, the development of placing-out work and a better program of preparation for life.

Another plan consists of the maintenance of a children's bureau which acts as the investigating agency for the constituent members. It takes charge of the applications and refers each case to the agency best prepared to handle it. However, superhuman intelligence is necessary to prevent the various agencies from becoming discontented with the plan. The Philadelphia bureau established in 1907 has done a notable piece of work, but in recent years has considerably transformed its functions. The Cleveland bureau, of rather recent origin, has enjoyed a relatively successful career. The Detroit Bureau investigates cases on request and reports to the society asking for the information and to the agency fitted to take charge of the case. In Pittsburgh the Associated Charities has established a children's bureau.

In some cities temporary homes for children, orphanages, and the board of education have coöperated with child-saving societies and with the juvenile court for the purpose of assisting in the disposition of juvenile delinquents, and especially for the placing of dependent and neglected children. But many agencies are unwilling to take court cases.

Denominational institutions are frequently anxious to take

care of children of their own faith, but this does not constitute real coöperation. Denominational jealousies and the fear that children will be placed with foster parents professing antagonistic religions are among the other obstacles to better cooperation between institutions and home-finding societies, or between these and the courts. The essential principles and methods of child saving being agreed upon, these various agencies should be able to yield a maximum of good results. Some first steps in coöperation often follow informal organization of child welfare societies, and the better understanding of each other and of mutual problems paves the way for actual cooperation.

h. Requisites of Institutional Care.

A well-ordered institution requires a preliminary investigation of the family and conditions of the applicant before admitting him. On admission the child is turned over to the receiving department, where he is examined by the physician for disease and bodily defects. A record is made of the various items, and if the child is fit, he then becomes an inmate of the institution. Food should be a subject of careful inquiry, and a scientific dietary provided for the children. The sleeping arrangements should be such as will carefully guard the morals of the inmates, and the place should be made as much like a home and as little like an institution as possible.

The child should be allowed to earn and use money and make the numerous contacts so essential to success in the world. Adequate recreational facilities are necessary, since many children are of inferior physique and need special attention. Industrial training should usually be given, but the public schools should be used wherever possible. The development of morals is an important consideration. Facilities for placing-out should be provided and efforts be made to place children in homes. Those who are mentally and physically normal should be removed from institutions as soon as good homes can be found, but supervision must be maintained to safeguard the interests of the children. No institution should

attempt to care for both normal and mentally defective children, and the latter, if received, should as soon as possible be transferred to institutions caring for this class of children.

i. Prohibition of Children in Almshouses.

The use of the almshouse as an institution for the care of dependent children is alien to the proper function of that institution. Nevertheless, the almshouse has served as a shelter for children, especially in the country districts, where other facilities for their care have not been provided, but the large cities have also erred in this respect. Formerly it was customary to dispose of children in this way, and social ideals did not forbid; but scientific philanthropy now opposes this policy, and regardless of age no children should be placed in an almshouse, although the practice is least objectionable as applied to children under two years of age. Some of the states have laws prohibiting the almshouse care of children under certain ages. In New York the custom has been almost entirely abolished, and less than one-half of 1 per cent of the almshouse inmates of the state are normal children. The general situation throughout the United States is, however, still very unsatisfactory.

2. Special Problems.

a. Desertion and Non-support.

If possible, parents must be held responsible for the support of their children. Desertion is an important cause of destitution, while failure to provide not only causes distress but is frequently accompanied by cruelty as well. These evils can be greatly reduced, but to accomplish this end efficient desertion and non-support laws must be enacted and the courts likewise must enforce them. The uniform law suggested by the Commission on Uniform State Laws contains the following very significant items among its provisions:

The desertion by either parent of children under 16 years of age, leaving them in destitute circumstances, constitutes a misdemeanor.

Both husband and wife shall be competent witnesses.

Proof that the desertion of wife and children results in destitution is evidence that the desertion is willful.

The court may order the husband to provide for the support of his wife and children. A violation of this order may be punished as contempt of court.

Punishment consists of a heavy fine or imprisonment at hard labor for a period not exceeding one year.

For each hard day's labor performed by the delinquent husband a certain sum of money shall be turned over to the wife for the support of the family.

Wife and child desertion was formerly classified as a misdemeanor, but in recent years a tendency has developed to make it a felony. This is due to the belief that extradition cannot be secured unless the crime is made a felony. This position, however, is erroneous, although in actual practice extradition papers are not usually granted for a misdemeanor. Formerly but few states made the crime a felony, but more than one-third of them have done so. In spite of this development the weight of authority is opposed to the change. Extradition is possible with the crime classed as a misdemeanor, but public funds must be appropriated so that the cost of bringing the deserter back need not be borne by the wife. Furthermore, wives are reluctant to prosecute, if a penitentiary sentence is involved; besides it will be more difficult to secure convictions.

Family and child desertion cases are frequently handled in lower courts which have little comprehension of the social significance of the problem. Usually only cases involving children are important, and these can be handled with best results by the juvenile court unless a domestic relations court exists to give them attention. They should be referred to one of these two courts because here the interests of the family will receive first attention. When the functions of these two courts are merged in a single court differences in regard to jurisdiction could not arise, and the disposition of cases would be simplified.

Another important consideration is the provision for main-

taining the deserted or neglected family. The city of Washington opened the way for wholesome reform on this point, the law of 1906 allowing the court to order the defendant to pay a specified sum regularly to the wife or to some other person or agency caring for the minor children. Meanwhile the deserter is placed on probation, and should he be sent to the workhouse, a certain sum is paid to the family for every day of hard labor performed by the man. This plan places a premium on good conduct, for if a man does not support his family while he is at large, he does and must support it, indirectly, while in the workhouse. This alternative is not an alluring one. A number of states and cities have now made similar provision for the support of the family. The plan of action begun in these states promises good results.

Lack of strong sentiment in favor of apprehending and punishing deserters constitutes a real difficulty. The public must insist on extradition, if that is necessary, and on the trial of non-support cases before the family is reduced to the direst poverty. It must assume the cost of bringing the deserter back and then lay as heavy a burden on him as is needed to insure the performance of his rightful obligations.

The Jewish philanthropies have devised a very successful plan for apprehending deserters through the organization of a national desertion bureau to which all deserters are reported. The information is spread throughout the Jewish sections in the United States by means of newspaper descriptions. The success of this plan is shown by the fact that two-thirds of their cases are regularly located and dealt with. The plan, however, is difficult of general application.

b. The Illegitimate Child.

No form of dependency offers a more serious problem than that accompanied by illegitimacy. The child who never needs relief may outgrow his parents' shame, but the one who sinks below the poverty line has little chance. Accordingly, more energy should be aimed against illegitimacy than against most forms of dependency and neglect. If anything at all is done,

the problem is usually handled by a combination of public and private agencies. Certain it is that public authority must assert itself, or little preventive work can be done. It is worth something to care for the child, but when one realizes the stigma that is attached, it is clear that the preventive work is by all means the most important. The shifting of the emphasis from mother to child also gives us a new perspective. Formerly when girl mothers placed their babies in crèches, they often found their way back into wholesome society, but the baby probably perished. Now we insist that the baby shall live, that the mother shall not be entirely relieved of its care, but also that illegitimacy shall be wiped out. In fact, the proper care of the child is one of the greatest deterrents of the evil.

An important step in advance is the registration of illegitimate births so that the public may know something of the extent of the difficulty. Furthermore, the mother's name should be accompanied by that of the father, if it is known or can be known. The Latin idea that inquiry into the paternity of the child must not be made is absurd, and savors of the time when women were mere property and the tools of men. The men who are ashamed to be recorded as the fathers of their children need to be held up to public obloquy, and if this were done, illegitimacy would decline. There is no question but that in the great majority of cases the first advances are made by men and that more than half the blame rests on them, yet they escape the physical responsibility entirely and most of the moral responsibility. The birth certificates usually used in the United States carefully designate that if the child is illegitimate, the facts about the father need not be entered!

The responsibility of the fathers must be enforced, and without doubt should take the form of support for the child and of certain other obligations. Public authority should take the initiative in ascertaining the paternity of the child and then require the father to assist in its support. In the District of Columbia a delinquent unmarried man may be punished with a

workhouse sentence and be compelled to support his child by paying part of his earnings while a prisoner, the law of 1913 extending the provision for support of children to all fathers.

The recent Norwegian law is perhaps the most drastic yet enacted. It provides that the father shall pay the confinement expenses of the mother, shall support the mother and child for a certain period, and shall pay a certain sum toward the education of the child. It also provides that the child may take his father's surname and inherit property in a manner similar to that of a legitimate child.

In the United States the burden is usually borne by the mother, but in a small proportion of cases a marriage is brought about. More often a compromise which affords temporary relief to the mother and her child is effected with the putative father for a specified sum of money. There is a growing demand for increased responsibility on the part of the father. The Norwegian law goes to the heart of the problem, for if a law can enforce for the illegitimate a standing that makes illegitimacy a grievous burden to men, then a powerful deterrent force will have been set in motion. The Norwegian law adapted to American needs but without substantial modification should be adopted in every American state.

Paternal responsibility need not involve marriage; furthermore, many forced marriages are disastrous. The development of stronger claims by the child upon his father, coupled with paternal responsibility, will produce better results. In many cases, however, marriage should be brought about, and this is sometimes desirable even though the husband and wife do not live together, for it gives a better standing to mother and child. It is a great advantage to the child to have a legal name and standing.

There is good reason for the contention that the status of illegitimacy should be entirely abolished and each child become the legal child of his natural parents. This step necessitates a definite line of judicial procedure. Bastardy cannot be made a crime as it is now in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

On the contrary it should incur definite civil obligations which cannot be shifted to the shoulders of a less guilty person. Following Norway, North Dakota has abolished the status of illegitimacy, but the state failed to enact the additional laws necessary to make the plan practical. Minnesota in 1917 passed a series of child welfare measures several of which relate to the problem of illegitimacy. In addition to a more effective extradition law county boards of child welfare were provided for and these were empowered to handle cases of illegitimacy that arose within their jurisdiction. Full discretionary power no longer remains with the unmarried mother, but these boards may push a case when they feel that the interests of the public will be served. Frequently the wishes of the mother and the public interest are diametrically opposed to each other. It stands to reason that under such conditions the more important plan must be chosen.

One of the greatest weaknesses in the administration of the law is the failure to require adequate support of the child from the father. Usually he is required to pay sums so insignificant that the burden must be borne largely by the mother. Again the courts usually dismiss the defendant when other men testify to intimacy with the plaintiff. The court in a large western city recently met this situation by dividing the cost of support among the various men concerned. The Norwegian law which abolishes the old principle that if several men profess immorality none can be held responsible, must eventually be abolished and the joint responsibility for the support of the child be enforced.

The right of inheritance must also be equalized. While occasional injustice may follow this innovation, the deterrent effects will be good. Child desertion laws should include desertion by either parent of an illegitimate child and common law marriage should be abolished.

Parents should not be permitted to surrender the child born out of lawful wedlock except with the consent of a court or department having jurisdiction over such matters.

A practical present day problem is the immediate care of mother and child. Probably a majority of the confinements occur in maternity homes, which may be of three varieties: the public or municipal hospital, the private philanthropic hospital, and the commercial maternity homes. The latter are demoralizing agencies which usually take women for confinement, and then for a specified sum agree to dispose of the child. The children are given out for adoption to applicants, with little or no investigation, and many children enter the most depraved homes, where a large percentage die. Usually they are not legally adopted, and foster parents do not bind themselves to support the babies, so the children are helpless. The parents often pay a certain sum for the child, and this added to the remuneration from the mother represents the income of the establishment. Rigid state legislation should control all maternity homes and all boarding homes for infants in order that vicious institutions of this character may be abolished. All others should be required to meet specified standards of efficiency. Among the best laws regulating these agencies are those of Indiana, Michigan, and Nebraska.

Whenever possible the illegitimate child should be kept with his mother, for in this way love for the child is developed. Otherwise he is liable to suffer from neglect. The efforts to find situations in the country for the mother with her child are quite successful. The mother should be removed as far as possible from temptation, be given wise supervision, and be accorded the opportunity to regain her position in society. If this can be done, the child also will become a respectable member of the community.

c. The Defective Child.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1906, the Committee on Children favored the use of the institution for temporary care only, but it opposed the principle that underlies the orphan asylum. On the other hand, it favored permanent institutional care for the feeble-minded, epileptic, and certain groups of crippled, deformed, and other-

wise incurable children. It requires no argument to show that the principles applying to normal children must be modified in the case of the abnormal, and furthermore the development of the eugenic point of view has checked all tendencies toward the placing-out of distinctly subnormal children. Most of them are the victims of a bad heredity which we can under no conditions afford to perpetuate, besides the helplessness of these children usually makes special care advisable. The feeble-minded should be given permanent institutional care and reproduction should be made impossible. State care is the accepted plan, and all feeble-minded in almshouses and prisons should be placed in proper institutions. The principle of action in regard to the high-grade types of feeble-minded is not satisfactorily determined, because the number is so great that institutional care seems financially impossible for many years; yet, they are the real menace, for no objection is made to custodial care for the lowest classes. The high-grade imbeciles, however, are a distinct racial menace and several plans for preventing their reproduction have been suggested. The chief ones are:

Complete institutional care with farms and workshops attached where inmates may become partly, or in some cases wholly, self-supporting.

Temporary care and training in an institution and sterilization on release.

Provision for the permanent care of all feeble-minded girls and women of child-bearing age first, so as to reduce the number of illegitimate births, and the care of the remaining feeble-minded as soon as provision can be made.

Supervision in private homes of high grade morons after a period of control within a well-conducted colony.

None of these plans has received general acceptance, but the problem of the feeble-minded is steadily increasing in seriousness and a plan of adequate control must be developed.

The physically defective classes are also in need of special care. Many children are permanently crippled, and institu-

tions should be provided for them where they will have the advantages of home life as far as possible. The plan of a state hospital for their care as developed in several states embodies a good principle because cripples are usually distributed among institutions having no special provisions for their care and are practically neglected. Private philanthropy can also well afford to equip institutions properly so as to educate and maintain permanently those crippled and deformed children who cannot be taken to the public schools. Orthopedic hospitals and medical service are primary requisites, but first of all, efforts should be made to cure as many as possible of the physically defective. Then, if necessary, permanent institutional care should follow.

3. Conclusion.

The general principles and methods of child saving center about the fundamental fact that the interests of the child are paramount. Adequate care and training of children are the most effective forms of preventive work. The child of to-day becomes the useful citizen or the adult dependent or delinquent of to-morrow, therefore the conditions of future society are contingent upon our present methods of providing for our children. The home is fundamental, and its importance as an institution surmounts the value of a child, but the children of any particular home are to be preferred to the continuation of that home. The child rather than the parent is the proper object of consideration, for the child is the man in the making, and it is work well worth doing well.

These principles are so well established that their original enunciation which gave them form has required but little amendment and the White House Conference of 1909 and the Children's Bureau Conference of 1919 reaffirmed them in their essential features and endorsed the program based on their logical development.

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CHAPTER XXIX

PRIVATE CHILD-SAVING AGENCIES

1. Home and Aid Societies.

Although public agencies have in most states made some provision for dependent children, the bulk of the work has been accomplished by private organizations, of which the most important are the "Home" and "Aid" societies. Children's "Home" societies have been formed in 31 different states. These organizations are federated into a national body which, however, has little control over the constituent members. The typical home society practically confines its work to placing dependent children in foster homes. It receives children from the courts and from other sources, but does not usually deal with those who are expected to remain in their homes, a fact, however, that has not prevented some of these societies from expanding their functions. Their work is usually state-wide, only one such society existing in any state.

The societies are equipped in most cases with temporary homes for the housing of the homeless children pending their transferal to their new homes. As children have been prohibited from being sent to the almshouse, the home society has been utilized to a large extent for the care of dependent children. Public officials find it a necessary part of the charitable organization of a community, and instead of competing with it enlist its coöperation. South Dakota is an example of a state subsidizing the home society and using it for public child-caring work.

In many cities organizations known as "Children's Aid Societies" have arisen. These differ somewhat from "home" societies, both in method and ground covered; for in addition

to the task of handling children who need foster homes, they board children in homes, provide temporary care for children in their own homes, and accept a variety of cases involving children. The scope of their work is not bound by hard and fast lines, as will appear in later illustrations. Many of these societies have no temporary homes for receiving children, but may use those belonging to other societies. In some localities the work of the home and the aid societies is merged; for example, the New York Society began as an aid organization but has joined the federation of home societies. Both types of organizations are undenominational and are controlled by a board of directors usually representing the principal contributors and interested persons. A public account of their stewardship is given through their annual reports, and contributions are voluntary, although there are some exceptions. Usually they are incorporated under the laws of the state.

The working force consists of a superintendent or secretary and of visitors and placing-out agents, and home societies have also maintained agents in certain other states to which some of their children have been sent. Aid societies have been striving hard to keep dependent children in their own homes as far as possible, but the conditions which govern the activities of the children's aid societies vary in different places. In the largest cities the needs are so extensive that many and varied labors are undertaken. This is especially true of the New York Society, which has been compelled to undertake many forms of philanthropic work. "The fundamental principle of the society and its governing motive is that of 'self-help'—of teaching children how to help themselves. It also advocates that the 'farmer's home' is the best possible place to shelter and rear the orphan, or outcast child,—far better than any asylum or the best managed public institution." [1] Accordingly it has sent large numbers of children to Western states, available room not having been found in the East for the many children constantly passing into its control.

[1] Report of the New York Children's Aid Society, 1908.

The stated principles of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society typify the fundamentals of a large number of these societies, and are as follows: "We are trying to accomplish four things: first, to keep in our office information concerning every child-caring institution in the city, and a list of private family homes, both in the city and surrounding country, where children can be received and cared for, so that we may know at any time and in any case of child-need just what can be done; second, to use existing institutions and create no new ones; third, to scatter children into private homes and small institutions rather than to congregate them in large ones; fourth, to put the support of a child upon its legal guardians whenever possible." The character of this society's work is partly indicated by the sources from which its children are received; for example, in 1922 it had representatives from 23 different poor boards, 23 county juvenile courts, 11 societies, and 14 institutions and other agencies, as well as many from miscellaneous sources.

2. Work of Typical Societies.

In no case does the actual work accomplished excel that of the New York Children's Aid Society founded in 1853, and in operation for over seventy years. Perhaps a chief distinction of its work consists in the variety of its labors. It has placed more than 30,000 orphans and deserted children in family homes in the country and has provided situations at wages for an almost equal number of older boys and girls. It has recovered thousands of runaway children and returned them to their parents and has been particularly active in assisting poor children to reach friends in the Western states. In 1922 the society operated ten school centers for handicapped children. These included cripples, cardiacs, anæmic children, and others. Here elementary and industrial education was provided, ideals of democracy were developed and standards of home life inculcated. The society managed six sanitaria largely for children, but also in part for tired mothers. It conducted a medical bureau for the benefit of children re-

quiring either convalescent or permanent care. It furnished four shelters for boys and girls as well as an emergency home for evicted women and children. In addition to these functions it maintains a placing-out department such as that which usually constitutes the chief work of a children's aid society.

The volume of work accomplished in 1922 is partially expressed in the following figures: children placed in family homes, 265; number under supervision, 1570; children sheltered in lodging houses, 2300; homeless mothers and babies sheltered, 222; children enrolled in industrial schools, 5339; number benefited through fresh air fund, 25,451; number treated in dental clinics, 3891; number meals provided school children, 281,239; and number of applications at medical bureau, 9068. In addition many minor services of various kinds were performed. A total of $676,000 was spent during the year.[1]

In the industrial schools of the society work was carried on in classes studying the following subjects: cobbling, carpentry, basketry, chair-caning, cooking, dressmaking, sewing, millinery, embroidery, designing, home-making and printing and both day and night schools were conducted. One of the happiest forms of labor was the sending of ailing children and their mothers to the health homes. To do this required receiving stations each equipped with physician and nurse detailed to discover the most needy children and order their transportation to the home.

The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania is a typical placing-out agency and deserves study by persons interested in the treatment of dependent children. In 1922 the number of children under its care was 2,348 of whom 329 were received during the year. The visits to the children placed in homes numbered 13,681 and nearly as many collateral visits were made. More than one-half of the children are boarded and about one-fourth are maintained in free homes. The legally adopted in 1922 numbered 38.

[1] New York Children's Aid Society, 1922.

A very significant feature of this work is the well-developed plan of supervision of children placed in private homes.

3. Denominational Placing-out Agencies.

The earlier placing-out societies were all non-sectarian, since the religious bodies generally clung to the institutional plan of child-care. The advantages of home life have, however, appealed so strongly to religious workers that placing-out is now carried on to some extent by several denominations. Although the Catholic Church has for some time sent a limited number of children to homes in the West, the establishment of the Catholic Home Bureau of New York in 1898 marked the beginning of organized placing-out. This bureau also acts as agent for a number of small institutions, and the New Jersey Catholic organization operates in a similar manner. Bureaus have been established in several localities.

Among Protestant denominations, the Lutheran Church is beginning to emphasize the family home, having founded a placing-out society in 1902, but now operating 14 societies in as many states. With the exception of two societies, the other Protestant churches have no organized placing-out work.

The Jewish Home Finding Society of Chicago represents a similar effort among the Jews. Here practical difficulties exist, such as the general absence of Jewish people in the rural districts, and unless children are to be placed in non-Jewish families the work can be carried on with difficulty. On the whole the religious organizations still use the institution as the chief agency for the care of dependent children.

4. The Placing-out Problem.

The most important work of placing-out societies consists of finding homes for their wards. Because of their facilities for this work, they are frequently used by public charities, private institutions, and other charitable agencies for the disposal of the children under their care. The children's aid society may become the placing-out machine used in common by the other forms of organized charity. Children may be placed with families or individuals under one of three conditions,—

indentured, boarded out, or placed-out in free homes, the last being the most desirable, provided a suitable family home can be obtained. The best homes, according to Homer Folks, are those in which children are grown up and gone, but where the child will be received as a member of the family; and those in which no children have appeared but one or more are earnestly desired. Experienced foster parents are likely to be more successful, but the child in the home of the childless is certain to receive ample attention. The child who is added to a home in which there are other children is often discriminated against, and this can only be discovered by careful supervision. In order to find a suitable home it is necessary to ask for applications for children or to find homes willing to receive them. Many societies constantly receive applications, and only need to consider their merits. Applicants should be required to make detailed statements in regard to the pertinent features of their homes and their home life. Among the questions which they should be required to answer are the following: occupation; financial status; if a farmer, size and ownership of farm; distance from church or Sunday school; distance from school; conditions within the home; general environmental conditions; purpose in regard to the child; proposed social status of the child; sleeping accommodations; nationality and age of applicants; their habits, character, social connections, their treatment of employees, and the number of children in the family. Additional questions are frequently required.

The answers often indicate the uselessness of further investigation, especially when they convey unfavorable impressions. The applicant must give a number of references, and persons familiar with the habits and conditions of the applicant are the recipients of inquiries. Furthermore, agents are usually sent out to interview the applicants in their homes and to collect such other information as may seem necessary.

It frequently happens that children are not adapted to the homes in which they were first placed, so they must be re-

placed before securing a satisfactory location. This can be avoided only by a most careful selection of the initial home. Success depends upon temperamental and religious considerations as well as upon the physical and moral fitness of the home, and as much as possible children should be placed with families of similar religious tendencies. The child who is old enough to have received religious training particularly requires this mode of disposition, but the small children are not torn from any denominational bias and therefore not injured by being placed with families of different religious belief from that of their parents. Denominational considerations are not the most important ones, and must yield when the general welfare of the child is at stake. To be placed out in a good home where some other religion is taught is far superior to being placed in a doubtful home that may satisfy the religious requirements of some intolerant agent or institution. Good homes rather than creed form the child's character and develop correct morals.

A second consideration requiring caution is the selection of a child adapted to the particular family home. The physical appearance may affect the prejudices of the family, and likewise the type of mind may be such as to make the new relation unpleasant for both parties. Temperamental harmony is necessary to success. Foster parents may be successful with one type of mind and fail utterly with another; therefore even before the child is placed on trial with a family, these considerations should be emphasized so as to avoid unecessary removals from family to family. Parents should, if possible, see the prospective child before he leaves the child-saving agency—a precaution which tends to lessen delay and misfits.

The third step in the disposition of the child is that of placing him in his newly secured home. The head of the home in which the child is placed usually signs a written agreement in which he promises to treat the child in accordance with the standards required by the society or agency. Among these requirements we generally find the following: to treat

him kindly and as a member of the family, to cause him to attend church and Sunday school, to provide him with a public school education, to teach him an occupation so as to make him self-supporting, to give him ample clothing both for week-days and Sundays, and to give him proper food and suitable medical attention. These agreements can be canceled by the child-saving agency whenever it deems it necessary for the welfare of the child and a limited right of cancellation is also granted to the guardian.

The fourth step is the supervision of the child in his new home. This supervision continues until the child is released from the control of the society. If the child is adopted by its foster parents, control ceases on adoption. Many children are not adopted at all, and are supervised by the child-caring agency until their majority or until they are sufficiently mature to make further care unnecessary. Agents of the child-caring society visit the children in their new homes and learn of their progress and development, since guardians may become neglectful, indifference to the welfare of the child may arise, or fundamental changes occur in the family conditions or relations,—all of which may conduce to the disadvantage of the child.

The home societies operating over an entire state have experienced much difficulty in their supervisory work. Frequently they have been unable to give the needed time to the selection of homes, and have had little time for supervision. Therefore they have sometimes depended on the information which they receive from their correspondents in the neighborhood of the adopted children. This has produced most disastrous results, as the keystone of the placing-out system is adequate supervision. Placing-out societies are learning that unless the welfare of the child is carefully guarded, the system itself will be endangered. So many homes seek children for selfish reasons that the utmost precautions are necessary. No visitor should be required to handle more than 50 children at one time. Otherwise the children cannot be properly safeguarded.

Supervision is costly, yet the placing-out system is much cheaper than is institutional care. Supervision under a state system tends to be more costly than similar service by a private agency, but the difference is partly due to the large territory which state agents must usually cover. Whatever the cost, the supervision of the children cannot be neglected, and the history of placing-out under inadequate supervision demonstrates the need of frequent visitation of children. Unfortunately, it has converted some to the plan for institutional care.

Experience has also indicated the need of the following features in connection with the supervision of children in foster homes; first, visits to be effective should be made quarterly or oftener, although there may be some exceptions to the rule. Very small children under excellent care need not be watched so constantly. Unfortunately a sufficient number of visits are not usually made, and many failures are discovered long after the child has begun to suffer from his uncongenial environment. No doubt many misfits are never found out. Second, visits should be made without previous notice to guardians, since the conditions which actually obtain cannot otherwise be discovered. Third, visits must be informal, and the agents must have the opportunity to meet parents and children and to get the actual facts about the treatment of the children. Fourth, written reports made out by the agents should be on file in the office of the society so that the condition of the child may be continuously followed; such reports should cover all the essential details regarding the progress of the child. Fifth, the judgment of the agent should determine the advisability of allowing the child to remain or of requiring his removal. Additional means of securing adequate knowledge of the conditions of the child are usually employed. Reports are sent by the teacher of the school attended, by the pastor of the church, by the Sunday school teacher, and by the guardian directly. Agents of the state or county in some states also visit children and report as to the conditions under which they found them.

5. Difficulties of Placing-out.

The difficulties of placing-out are twofold,—those affecting the child and those affecting the guardian. When a large number of children must be disposed of, the number of free homes may be insufficient to meet the demands. Accordingly, only the more likely children can be placed, while those suffering from deformities, weaknesses, illegitimate origin, and marked racial tendencies cannot be placed in free homes but must be boarded or otherwise provided for. Again, the older children are not so easily placed as the little ones. Little girls under three are especially in demand, because they are captivating and attractive and have not yet suffered from the evil influences liable to result from the environment of the dependent child. Foster parents prefer a young child in order to train him, and because they expect thereby to become more attached to him, while he, on the other hand, will have no recollections of the former home.

The older children are often vicious and spoiled, and therefore applicants hesitate to select them. The outward manifestation of hereditary traits as well as the impressions made by a bad environment appear long before the age limit beyond which societies usually decline to accept children for placing-out. Such children suffer greatly from this disadvantage, and are not so easily placed.

The difficulty in regard to prospective guardians consists largely of the selfish or economic motive which prompts them to attempt to secure children from the placing-out agency. The older children are wanted because of their ability to work, many farmers applying for children in the spring of the year when work is plentiful and help is needed. Other applicants have use for a handy boy, while girls are often wanted for household purposes. The Catholic Home Bureau of New York has checked this species of exploitation of its wards so successfully that applications for boys and girls over 12, formerly so numerous, have almost ceased. Extreme caution is necessary on the part of the investigating agency in order to insure the

rejection of all applications for children wanted for mere mercenary reasons, and without effective supervision harsh treatment might not be discovered and the child be victimized for several years.

The large number of children formerly sent to the West by Eastern societies resulted in a wave of legislation in Western states aimed against unrestricted importation of dependent children. Drastic conditions were imposed and Eastern societies were compelled to work more extensively in their own territory. Although most of the restrictions have since been removed, proportionately fewer children are now being sent to the West.

6. The Temporary Home.

The temporary home has become a valuable adjunct of the Children's Home Society. Children are taken to these homes before they are placed out, but are retained no longer than necessary to find them agreeable homes, except in a limited number of cases which require the discipline of short institutional treatment. The vicious and unmanageable children are at a disadvantage, and are likely to fail unless the curative discipline of the temporary home is provided for them. While at the home opportunity is afforded for medical attention and for observation of the child's peculiarities. So prepared, he can more readily secure a home. Many societies do not provide a temporary home, but take the children directly and after giving them a thorough medical examination, place them in their new homes.

7. Indenture.

The children's societies formerly placed out a large proportion of their children by indenture. A contract was made with the guardian according to which the child would perform certain services and remain with the guardian until a certain age. In exchange for this, the guardian promised to house, clothe, and educate the child and look after his physical interests. When the contract expired at the age of 18 or in some cases 21, the child was free to leave, and on leaving was to receive cer-

tain considerations, such as a suit of clothes, twenty dollars, and a new Bible! The indenture system is crude and antiquated, no protection being afforded to any of the parties interested. The child could run away and could not be forced to return. The guardian was helpless in this respect but he could exploit the child without suffering therefor, as a case could not easily be proved. The high age limit for indenture contracts was an injustice to children, who could earn no money for themselves until the contract expired. Expecting to be turned out penniless into the world they were desirous of earning wages as soon as possible, so many of them ran away from the guardian.

Indenture laws have been profoundly modified in many states; the age limits have been lowered, and the child allowed to make arrangements with the guardian for services beyond a certain age. Some of the placing-out societies have discontinued the system altogether, and have placed children in free homes without hard and fast agreements.

8. Boarding Homes for Children.

Since a sufficient number of free homes could not be secured, the children's aid societies, particularly those in the East, have been forced to resort to the boarding home. The number of applicants is usually sufficient, but the number of rejections is so large that if decent accommodations are to be secured for the children, homes willing to take children for a consideration must be used. Many children will need temporary care only, and will eventually be returned to their homes or placed with relatives. Meanwhile they are boarded in a private home, usually at a lower figure than the cost to the family. Children who are weak and sickly and those who are at an age when they can no longer be adopted but are a heavy cost to the caretaker are also usually boarded. Conditions such as these have compelled both public and private child-caring agencies to rely more and more on the boarding home. It seems probable also that there is greater reluctance than formerly to open the doors of the home to the untried strangers. Possibly the

increased cost of living is an additional factor that interferes with the supply of free homes. The policy of providing temporary care only and of returning children to their relatives and natural guardian as soon as possible also militates against the popularity of free homes and makes boarding-out a necessity.

9. Results of the Placing-out System.

The precise results of placing-out as a policy of child-saving still remain undetermined, and reports vary widely in their judgments on this point. In spite of utmost precautions, a large number of children must be placed twice or oftener before a congenial home can be found, it having been estimated that 50 per cent of all children must be replaced.[1] After the transfers are made the great majority are measurably successful. The New York Children's Aid Society has estimated that 87 per cent of the children which it placed out were "doing well," while the Michigan State School for Dependent Children claims that 93 per cent of the children that have passed through its doors are wholly or partially successful. The Minnesota School reports success in 66 per cent of its cases and partial success in 27 per cent. All of these estimates have been made by persons interested in a good record for their societies and are therefore somewhat optimistic statements. Nevertheless they indicate good results.

A small percentage of children, however, disappear entirely, and a few are sent to reformatory institutions. Those doing poorly are usually boys and girl placed after they have reached the age of ten. At present the average age at which children are placed out by a number of our best child-caring agencies —public and private—ranges from five to nine years. Good results may be expected from a policy of placing very young children. The larger societies are very efficiently managed, but the smaller ones still suffer from inferior service, the usual difficulty being an insufficient number of agents, so that the investigation of prospective homes is inadequate and subse-

[1] Henderson, C. R., *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, p. 114.

quent visits too few. In many localities too much reliance has been placed on volunteers who offer to report on the condition of the children, and insufficient attention has also been given to the question of school attendance. Some temporary homes do not give adequate medical care, and before they are fit children are allowed to pass out into family homes.

The need of greater efficiency is being gradually recognized and the work of placing-out societies is slowly being subjected to public supervision. In 1913 Nebraska and Ohio passed laws empowering their state boards of charities to visit children placed in homes by private societies; while the California law of that year provides that no child under 12 can be taken into a home other than that of a relative or guardian unless the home has been licensed by the state board of charities.

10. Adoption.

It is desirable that the number of adoptions be as large as possible as far as this may be consistent with the rights of parents. Sometimes the latter regain their ability to care for their children, and want them back, and under certain conditions this should be allowed. The actual percentage of adoptions seldom rises above 25 per cent, and for most agencies it is considerably lower, often falling to very small proportions. Children are usually given a trial of about one year, after which they may be adopted; then, if this step is taken, the jurisdiction of the society ceases. The great bulk of children in the free homes become of age or self-supporting without being made members of the family.

11. Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Cases of destitution depending upon ill treatment, neglect, and cruelty are somewhat different from pure dependency cases, and are in many cities handled by separate organizations. The Humane or Prevention of Cruelty Societies were developed for this purpose. Until recently so little attention was paid to the neglected child that his interests were practically overlooked and nothing was done for him. The New York City Society was founded in 1874, and incorporated in the following

year under a law enacted for the special purpose of giving such agencies a legal standing. This pioneer work was followed by a wave of societies rising all over the United States, many being formed during the seventies, while in the smaller cities and towns extensive organization has occurred during the last decade. In the majority of cases among the towns the "Humane Society" has been established, but in the large cities distinct societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are the rule.

The original humane societies were interested in animals only and were organized for their protection. The first one—the Minnesota Humane Society—was organized in 1869. In the majority of cases even now, in spite of the anomaly of the combination, they protect both children and animals from cruelty. This is especially the case in the small cities, which cannot afford two separate societies and therefore combine the two in one. In many instances the protection of children seems to have been an afterthought. Unfortunately the principles of action which determine policies in regard to children and to animals are so different that the society caring for both threatens to become warped in perspective, and applies to children the wrong kind of treatment.

The character of organization usually depends on the special conditions under which the work is done. Some societies have a state organization and conduct branches in various parts of the state; for example, the Massachusetts society with its many branches; also the Ohio and Wisconsin societies, which follow the same plan. The best class of these societies are incorporated under the laws of the state, although some limit their work to the city or country in which they are located. County incorporation is very common, especially among humane societies in the smaller towns of the West. Occasionally they take the form of city organizations, confining their work to their particular city or perhaps extending it to suburban sections. Sometimes the society is a branch or department of the charity organization society.

Canada has a considerable number of protective societies, and the work has also been established abroad. The London organization operates throughout England, Wales, and Ireland, and has more than one thousand centers of work. Paris has a society, and the one in Berlin has established five branch societies.

a. Functions.

There are at least two views as to the functions of these societies. One is expressed in the purpose of the New York society, which reads as follows: "The particular business and objects of this society are the prevention of cruelty to children, and the enforcement by all lawful means of the laws relating to or in any wise affecting children." To carry out these objects the society may prefer complaints before the proper courts for the violation of laws affecting or relating to children and may aid in bringing the facts before the courts. The chief purpose of the society is plainly to act as an arm of the law and to aid the police.

The second view—that the society should aim to prevent neglect and to assist in setting into motion the forces which will insure proper child protection as well as rescue neglected children—has been concisely and ably stated by Mr. C. C. Carstens, who credits the society with the following functions:[1]

(1) "To prevent physical injury, remove the child whenever it is necessary to protect it, and punish the offenders whenever the best interests of all concerned demand it.

(2) "To prevent physical neglect; in extreme cases to remove the children and find better homes for them through suitable agencies.

(3) "To rescue children from immoral surroundings and shield them from immoral contamination.

(4) "To protect wife and dependent children from nonsupport and desertion of the breadwinner and to protect children from abandonment by either parent.

[1] 28th Annual Report, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

(5) "To secure suitable new guardians for children who have been deprived of their natural guardians or who should be removed from them in the interests of humanity."

The purposes thus stated include protection to the child and the amelioration of conditions which, if allowed to take their course, would finally result in intolerable forms of neglect. Protection to the child is accomplished through the prosecution of cruel parents and guardians as well as through various devices for directly shielding the child from cruelty. The more conservative societies have largely confined their attention to remedial efforts, only cases of actual cruelty or violations of the laws safeguarding the interests of the children being considered. Thus few homes are interfered with, and a vast amount of misery remains entirely uncovered and unmolested. Meanwhile children suffer, become immoral or vicious, and are deprived of normal opportunities. Preventive work is needed, and therefore radical leaders have favored interference with family relations whenever the interests of the child seemed to be jeopardized. This, however, has led to the more extensive breaking of family ties than society justifies at the present time. Anti-cruelty societies have suffered from the charge that they were largely interested in the work of breaking up families, but their mission has been misunderstood. Overzealous officials may consider the interests of the child only and overlook the possible danger to the family as an institution. The child should not be removed unless he will gain more than he loses by the transaction, but the effect of the act upon society itself must not be dropped from consideration. The parent is also a factor, and cannot be lightly thrown aside, but many parents are unfit, and their children can only be saved by removing them and placing them under new and more congenial surroundings. There is too much maudlin sentiment about the sanctity of everything that masquerades as a home. This is especially disgusting when homes ruined by intemperance, immorality, and brutishness are considered fit places for the rearing of young children.

The second purpose—the amelioration of conditions—when properly carried out allows the society to perform a variety of tasks. The following quotation from Mr. Carstens is a clear presentation of this purpose. "A society for the prevention of cruelty to children should be equipped so that it may deal promptly with all flagrant instances of cruelty and neglect, and in coöperation with other agencies carry out the community's purposes. It should be ready to assume leadership in urging legislation or in organizing community action to protect children from abuses that exist or are likely to arise. It should engage in an organized way to make a community increasingly sensitive to forms of abuse that exist but whose evil results have not yet been appreciated." [1]

b. Work of Typical Societies.

Cruelty cases often develop into destitution cases, but as the societies handling them are not relief agencies, effective work requires their coöperation with other agencies which will care for the children rescued from their neglected condition. Institutions and home-finding societies have been the chief child-caring agencies to which the anti-cruelty societies have turned. In Massachusetts the Children's Aid Society and the State Department of Public Welfare have been used for this purpose, and the Catholic charities have taken care of some of the children. The Massachusetts society, however, has been compelled to develop placing-out machinery of its own and to handle many children directly.

In Philadelphia the function of the children's bureau simplifies the work, and the placing-out agency takes the children turned over to it from the cruelty society and disposes of them according to its regular methods. In New York City the great majority of destitute children are transferred to the overabundant institutions of the city, Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew institutions being the chief recipients, while non-sectarian institutions receive comparatively few children. Unfortunately the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Chil-

[1] *Op. cit.*

dren has acted as a heavy feeder to the institutions of New York City. It has been so easy to turn children over to such agencies that proper placing-out methods have not been developed.

The amount of work accomplished by the New York Society is astonishing.

During 1922, 17,172 cases were received, of which more than 4000 constituted cases of cruelty, abuse, or neglect. There were more than 100 complaints against moving picture shows. The society also took into custody 3138 children on delinquency and other charges. It investigated more than 900 infant boarding home permits, about five per cent of which were denied. In a similar way 600 children were involved in the permits to appear on the stage, which are granted or denied by the mayor after investigation by the society. It received in its home for temporary shelter 6364 children and assisted in prosecuting over 700 cases of offenses against children, of which about 75 per cent were successful. Convictions were procured for such offenses as selling firearms, buying junk, enticement into immoral surroundings, keeping gambling devices for the use of children, assault and cruelty.

During the year the society collected $67,000 from parents and guardians of children committed as public charges and paid this sum into the city treasury. In the 48 years of its existence it has received over 400,000 complaints, involving three times as many children.

In 1922 the Massachusetts Society investigated cases involving 13,008 different children, of which 2094 were brought into court, and 143 were cared for in the society's home during the year. As the average period of detention was only 24 days, most of these children were speedily placed in homes and institutions under proper care. The society made special effort to secure proper care and support for the illegitimate children brought to its attention. It also carried on various forms of educational work, particularly in respect to the menace of feeble-mindedness.

These societies must coöperate so closely with the courts that they are virtually semi-governmental bodies, rather than mere private philanthropies, since they must become responsible for the children taken by the court from their parents. This function has in some cities been absorbed by the juvenile court which deals with neglected children as well as with delinquents, and which places both groups in the hands of the probation officers. This is especially true in Western cities. The preventive work, however, cannot be carried on by the juvenile court, and this must eventually become the most important feature of the work of these societies. The great need of to-day is cooperation with other child-helping agencies and the development of plans for securing family life for the children taken from their homes.

12. The Institution.

The institution still plays a very important part among the philanthropic agencies of the country. In spite of the objections of social workers, it persists in its work, and nearly two-thirds of all dependent children are under its control. Orphanages and children's homes form about one-fourth of all the benevolent institutions in the Unted States. There are more than 1000 of these homes in the United States of which about nine-tenths are under the control of private or ecclesiastical bodies and the remainder are controlled by the public. The denominational homes contain a considerable majority of the children in institutions, the private non-sectarian group comes next, while the public institutions contain a very small proportion of the total number. There are notable differences also in the method of handling children. The non-sectarian group includes many temporary homes and a large number of children pass through their doors every year. The denominational agencies include many permanent homes and therefore the average length of stay in the institution is much longer. Many of these homes keep the child until he is ready to go out into the world to support himself. Boys are often kept until they are 16 and girls until 18. Meanwhile definite industrial

or trade training may be provided to fit the child for his future livelihood.

Owing to the various methods of handling dependent children, the different states vary widely in their proportion of institutions as well as of inmates. Where placing-out systems are well established, the percentage of children in orphanages has been greatly reduced. This is especially true in Massachussetts, where vigorous work has resulted in the closing of many institutions, while newly organized work is based on the placing-out plan.

a. Advantages of the Institution.

As indicated in a preceding chapter, a most appropriate function of the institution is its use as a home or school for defective children and those who are crippled, deformed, incurably diseased, or otherwise so afflicted that either custodial care or prolonged treatment is necessary. Such children can be more successfully handled and trained in an institution than in any other way. A second value consists of its use as a temporary shelter for the child, pending a search for a suitable home. In spite of the effort to place children out directly, few agencies are able to dispense entirely with some form of institution. They must keep the child in the institution temporarily, unless family homes can be secured for this purpose.

Again, children in need of temporary care can often find no other accommodations than those offorded by an institution. The discipline, regularity, and decorum enforced in well-established children's homes often prepare the untaught child for family life. The child who has lived in a bad home under improper training has invariably developed irregular and irresponsible habits, and for such habits the unrelaxing routine of institutional life is the best treatment. Without this discipline, it is doubtful if such children would ever become law-abiding citizens.

b. Disadvantages.

One of the important disadvantages of the institution is the slow movement of its population into individual homes. Unless

an efficient placing-out bureau is maintained or some central agency can be utilized, the orphanage will fail to place its children in family homes or will delay this important duty. Many institutions have utterly failed to develop a satisfactory plan of homefinding for their inmates. To the uncritical eye, more seems to be accomplished if children can be seen swarming all over the institution. The happy child in the country home is not present to impress the visitor at the orphanage. So there is often a disinclination to part with the children.

Another disadvantage of the institution is the type of building and its usual location. The cottage system has not commonly superseded the old institutional type of building, which is usually located in the city itself or in the immediate outskirts, where sufficient room and the most congenial surroundings are not available. The heavy cost is the chief hindrance to the establishment of the cottage system. Another possible danger lies in the difficulty of properly classifying and segregating children of various types and dispositions. Within a single institution we frequently find mental defectives, backward children, delinquents, dependents, and neglected or ill-treated children, a situation which involves many dangers. Dependent and delinquent children are frequently allowed to associate with each other. Even though similar causes may have produced them, the two types are different and the innocent dependent children may easily be contaminated by the delinquents. In New York the effects of the mingling of these two classes became so harmful that the state enacted a law requiring private institutions to limit themselves to either the dependent or the delinquent children. The massing of dependent children is in itself a serious thing, but it becomes worse when various elements are introduced.

Individualization is not possible in institutions, particularly in the larger ones, and one of the most important needs of the child is therefore neglected. In the home the child is "mothered," and enjoys a spontaneity and freedom from irksome discipline which develops his self-reliance and ability to

do independent work. He comes in contact with the world, and by learning its methods he adapts himself to its conditions. The child in the institution leads an artificial life under artificial conditions, and his "hothouse" development does not prepare for the environment into which he passes after he leaves the institution. He finds himself quite helpless, and the problems of life overtax him; he does not understand the struggles of the world, and is frequently submerged; his education is often less efficient than that provided for the normal boy, and his play and recreational facilities are so limited that he fails utterly to gain the freedom and pleasure enjoyed by the child in the home. Many institutions do not reach the level of the best standards, so the effect on the child is injurious. Children are in many instances still marched to school in squads, and returned in similar manner, while some institutions dress their children in uniforms and maintain a sort of military discipline. Besides, in many places, even the wisdom of sending them to the public schools has not yet been recognized. The Hebrew orphanages were the first to use the public schools, and the tendency now is strongly in the direction of complete freedom of children in going to and coming from school. Some forms of instruction, however, are very appropriate in institutions. Among these are kindergarten instruction and manual training. Many orphanages have added these branches to their curriculum. Institutions within city limits can with difficulty provide outings and excursions to refresh the children after constant contact with the prosaic surroundings of the institution.

The foundling asylum has been a special target for the critics, and with good reason, for the mortality rate in these institutions is frequently enormous. Many of the children, it is true, are received in a precarious condition, and suffer from malnutrition, premature birth, physical defects, or inanition, while illegitimacy is usually a factor. Despite these obstacles, the proper care of the babies can substantially reduce the death rate. Usually these asylums accept too many children and

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overcrowd the various wards. Frequently the inmates are not properly fed and seldom do they receive sufficient individual attention. The plan of boarding out babies with wet nurses under the supervision of the asylum promises to attain better results. The large foundling asylum providing institutional care has proved a failure, and must be supplanted either by the small institution where improved care can be given or by a system of care in private homes.

c. The Modern Home for Children.

In a number of communities efforts have been made to meet the charges presented against the institution and to prove to the world that the cottage plan under enlightened leadership is capable of the best results. Perhaps the best known of these homes is the one at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, which inspired its former superintendent to write the book entitled, "How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn."

Some of the Catholic institutions although not organized on the cottage plan, nevertheless have accomplished wonderful results through the faithful painstaking efforts of the sisters and other guiding officials. Often a high degree of individualization has been made possible by dividing the children into small groups each of which is placed under the care of one of the attending workers or sisters. The contacts made in this way are stimulating and rob the institution of many of its disadvantages.

Perhaps the Jewish people will demonstrate the possibilities of the "Institution." They have not succeeded in popularizing the child-placing plan, partly because most Jews live in the larger cities and partly because of a traditional reluctance to accept this method of care.

Accordingly so-called institutional care represents the favorite plan of providing for dependent children that cannot be cared for in their own homes.

None of these homes offers a better opportunity to become a model for study by social workers than Homewood Terrace, San Francisco. It is not an institution but a group of little

homes. It consists of nine cottages for the children with a maximum of 20 per cottage. The normal cottage contains 10 boys and 10 girls, whose ages may range from 4 to about 18 or 19. Home life is approximated by placing children of both sexes in the same cottage. The contacts between persons of different ages and different sex develop the sentiments and responsibilities which the private home contributes and which institutions have generally been unable to develop in their wards. Each cottage has a house-mother in charge and there are no other helpers. The children of the "family" do the work and at meal time are divided among five tables. They accept responsibilities, receive spending money, attend the public school, are given careful personal attention and are jealously safeguarded by a most capable and devoted superintendent. This home furnishes an example of children placed in a controlled environment, but an environment in which the constructive forces work at a maximum and the undermining influences are largely eliminated. The cost of operation is only slightly higher than before when the congregate plan was followed, but the difference in the development of sturdy and responsible young men and young women is immeasurable.

13. The Day Nursery.

The day nursery is intended for children who live in their own homes, but whose mothers must work during the day and who cannot be left at home alone. The family may be practically self-supporting, but unless relief of this sort is provided, the poverty line will soon be reached. Theoretically the day nursery is a makeshift—an instrument which makes it possible for mothers to work in the gainful occupations and neglect their home duties. Their earnings should not be necessary, and the ideal constructive work deals with the problems which if solved would make day nurseries unnecessary. As a method of relief, however, they have a legitimate place.

Day nurseries were first developed in France under private auspices. The movement grew, and to-day the nurseries of that country are under the medical supervision and general

inspection of the state. England also has a large number, London alone having about 75. Many of these, however, are poorly kept, are housed in ill-smelling buildings, are overcrowded, are provided with poor food, and are attended by an incompetent staff who are themselves ignorant of the laws of hygiene.

In some English cities day industrial schools serve as a substitute for day nurseries, and the children attend the schools from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. They are given educational training, some recreation, and three meals a day, but the parents are required to pay one shilling per week toward the support of each child. The government supplements this support with a subsidy not exceeding the amount given by parents. Many widows, in particular, find these schools a great convenience, for the children can be cared for throughout the entire day, the mothers then being free to work.

In the United States day nurseries have been established in all large cities and industrial centers, but unfortunately are often the pet charity of sentimental philanthropists. They are generally connected with settlements, churches, or charitable societies, and do not ordinarily operate as separate institutions. In a model nursery children are examined by physicians, receive physical care and exercise, are given kindergarten instruction, have ample opportunity for amusement as well as for sleep, and are provided with two meals a day. Some charge, usually five cents per day, is required from the mother.

American nurseries often suffer from overcrowding, being frequently located in very unsatisfactory buildings or rooms. There is also much danger from contagion, as medical inspection is not always required. The adaptation of food furnishes another problem, since the food must be clean and wholesome, yet not so different from that provided in the homes as to cause indigestion. Cleanliness should be enforced, not only for the sake of the child, but for the parents as well.

The American Association of Day Nurseries is doing much toward standardizing and raising the ideals of nurseries. Nurs-

eries must not abet the evil they are trying to relieve, although there is danger of producing precisely this effect. The establishment of a nursery frequently tempts women who would otherwise stay at home to make use of the nursery and enter some gainful occupation. Unless precautions are taken and a careful selection made, the real purpose is not served. However, nurseries should improve the physical condition of children, develop higher ideals in the homes, and give needed relief to working mothers.

14. Needs and Reforms.

Coöperation among child-saving agencies and their simplification are among the greatest needs of the day. Undoubtedly the number of such agencies should also be reduced, as many of them are small and ill-equipped and their work is quite inferior to present standards. By combination and coöperation, greater efficiency will be obtained. Denominational friction prevents the needed reduction of agencies at present, but even here greater coöperation is possible. A large non-sectarian institution is sufficient for a single state unless the presence of a large city complicates the problem. Some auxiliary aid can then be furnished by a very limited number of sectarian agencies, although concentration of the work in the hands of a single administration would be more desirable. A children's bureau acting as a clearing house of cases marks the farthest step in advance.

Efficient management is one of the most important needs in child-saving agencies and thorough organization is required so that children can be promptly and efficiently handled. The child ready to be placed out should not suffer from delays. There should be ample knowledge of the whereabouts of desirable homes. More trained officials are needed to carry on the work, since too often the social perspective of the agent, or even of the secretary himself, is too narrow to make possible the best results. Hence children are poorly placed or undergo a demoralizing routine from which recovery is extremely difficult. The smaller societies especially need more trained of-

ficials. The larger ones, recognizing the need of efficient workers, have begun to train their own staff by requiring attendance at appropriate lectures in schools of social work, or by organizing for themselves courses on child problems.

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CHAPTER XXX

PUBLIC CHILD-SAVING AGENCIES

PRIVATE philanthropy has been unable to meet all the needs and problems of dependent children; consequently public methods of child care have gradually taken form, and as each state may develop its own plan several systems have been established. Among these are: the State School System, State Placing-out System, County Home Plan, Public Subsidies to Private Charities. Most of the states have also endeavored to supplement their methods of child-saving by laws providing pensions for worthy mothers. Until recently private charity was supreme in handling those groups that require considerable elasticity in treatment. Public agencies however are now encroaching on this field although their first concern should be those children definitely in need of care and training and who do not involve the intricate details of family rehabilitation.

1. The State School System.

The most common method of public care is the state school system. It has been adopted in whole or in part by eighteen states chief among which are Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa and Pennsylvania. In some of these states the system was adopted directly, but in a number the function of the homes for soldiers' and sailors' orphans has been expanded to include the duties of a state school. In Iowa, for example, children may be sent as county wards to the school and are partially supported by state funds, but these children are distinguished from those for whom the institution was originally built. Strange as it may seem, some "orphans" of the soldiers of the Civil War are still sent to these homes!

The first state to adopt the system was Michigan, in 1874.

At that time at least 600 children were scattered about in the almshouses of that state, and a radical departure in method was necessary to save them from pauperism; accordingly the state school was established, and dependent children between the ages of three and fourteen years were admitted. Subsequent revisions of the law established new age limits, and at present children from one to twelve years of age are specially cared for, but under certain conditions any child under fourteen years of age will be received. A babies' cottage has been provided to meet the needs of infants.

a. Essential Elements of the State School System.

The essential elements of the state school system, as exemplified by Michigan, are the following: the investigation of cases considered for the state school, the transferal by the courts of the children to the school, the temporary detention and maintenance of the children in the institution, training and school work during the stay of the child, a state placing-out system, the speedy placing of children in private homes, and the subsequent supervision of the children in these homes. A dependent child is sent to the school only after a petition has been filed in the probate court of the county in which the child resides, and the petition must be signed by at least two of the superintendents of the poor in the said county. The court orders an investigation of the causes of dependency, the condition of the parents, the child's former maintenance, etc., before making an appropriate disposition of the case. Ample precautions are thus taken to prevent the sending of unworthy children to the school. When the child is made a public ward, the State Board of Control becomes his legal guardian and parents or relatives sever their direct control.

The school is essentially a temporary home. It comprises nine cottages, and accommodations are provided for 250 children, but at no time has it been the purpose of the managers or superintendents to detain children longer than necessary. The training given is intended to fit them for life in the family so that they may inspire the affection which is necessary to pro-

mote the possibility of their adoption. The actual average length of residence of children in the school is about five months. They receive good medical service, and during their brief stay are given instruction in the common branches, manual training, and domestic science. As the children are quite young, the greater portion of the work consists of kindergarten and primary instruction. A garden and a farm of 160 acres offer some opportunities for the older children.

The Minnesota school has slightly increased the length of the institutional life of the children under its care. Formerly about seven and one-half months, in 1922 it registered ten months and out of 358 children placed during the year, 81 had been in the institution longer than one year. In Iowa where the law interferes somewhat with the facility of the school in handling cases, soldiers' children average more than three years in the home while the county wards remain about two-thirds as long.

The most successful work for dependent children is done for those who are comparatively young. Because children form many bad habits under the abnormal conditions among which they are almost invariably found, it is necessary to place them out at the earliest possible age, so that their habits may be re-formed in the new home.

In the Michigan state school the average age of the children has risen from less than six to eight and in the Minnesota school a similar average prevails. By means of efficiency in placing-out methods these states prevent their homes from degenerating into institutions for dependent children. In Iowa conditions have not been uniform. The age of soldiers' children fell from 10 to slightly more than seven but in recent years has again risen to 10. The county wards although younger show similar fluctuations. A large number, however, are still young enough to be placed out for adoption.

b. Placing-out.

In Michigan the placing-out machinery consists of the state agent and numerous county agents, many of whom render valu-

able service. When applications for children are first received, the county agent investigates the merits of the applicants. Some counties, however, have no such official, and the state agents are therefore required to make the preliminary investigations. In case of press of work this imposes a hardship because the force of investigators is still too small. On approval of the home by the agent, the guardian signs a written agreement to care for the child according to the requirements demanded by the board of control, and the child is then placed in the new home, where he is supervised. Among the official visitors are the county and state agents, judges of probate, and superintendents of the poor. The placing-out methods are very similar to those of the best private societies, and so need no further discussion.

c. Results of System.

Without doubt the state school system has been very successful. True, a number of children must be placed a second, and some a third, time or even oftener, as is the case with private societies, but on the whole good results have been achieved.

In Minnesota, out of over 4000 children placed out during the earlier years of the existence of the school, 65.3 per cent were placed but once, but in 1922, only 58 per cent were original placements. Some of these will be repeated and consequently still further reduce the proportion placed but once. In Michigan nearly one-half of the children are effectively placed on the first trial, about one-third must be placed a second time and the remainder unfortunately have still greater difficulty in finding a suitable home. Several children have been indentured ten or more times.

The volume of work done by these schools is indicated by such figures as the following: The Minnesota school in 1922 had an initial population of 335, received 383 during the year and disposed of 406. The total number under care was 718. It had 1176 children under supervision in homes at the beginning of the year, added 358, while 355 were discharged or returned to the school and two died.

In 1922-23 the Michigan school handled 811 children of which 375 were placed in private homes. The total number of children under supervision excluding the school population was 1351. About 22 per cent of all children handled by the school have been adopted.

A large percentage of adoptions is impossible in the case of children who have one or both parents living, because prospective foster parents hesitate to take them for adoption and the state naturally hopes that parents will eventually resume their rightful obligations.

The adoption of the state school system usually results in state interest in the work of private child-caring societies, and paves the way for state supervision of such work, although the influence of social workers has in many instances accomplished even more than has the adoption of the state school system in securing this needed reform. The state school tends to raise the standard of admission to private institutions, and a greater uniformity in the care of dependent children is thereby secured. On the whole, the state school system has greatly increased the efficiency of the work done for dependent children in those states in which it has been adopted, and the political difficulties have not been formidable. The use of the state school by private agencies, at first antagonistic to its methods and purposes, has increased; better standards have been set for all; and a large number of children are now being adequately cared for. The proportion of dependent children has, on the other hand, declined under the operation of the system. This plan, however, has not yet met the test of success adequately in every state—largely because the placing-out machinery, which is the keynote of final success, has not been fully developed.

2. Boarding and Placing-out Systems.

a. Child Saving in New Jersey.

In New Jersey the State Board of Children's Guardians cares for dependent and neglected children and is empowered to place such children in private homes within the state with or without the payment of board. Nearly one-half of the

children under the care of the board have been placed in free homes. Usually only the older ones are disposed of in this way, most of these children being over 10 years of age. Every child on commitment receives a medical examination, and as the state has no central institution, it uses the county homes, private institutions, and other agencies for the temporary detention of the children.

b. The Massachusetts Plan.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare has extensive powers and duties in regard to the care and custody of dependent and delinquent children. In November, 1921, the statistics of its work were as follows:

Number in charge	6,216
Delinquent	216
Wayward	35
Neglected	3,177
Dependent	2,788
Over three	5,851
Under three	365
Method of Care:	
Free of expense to state	705
Partly supported by state	181
Fully supported by state	3,417
In institutions	693
Receiving wages	636
United States service	73
Married	41
Unknown	105

Practically no distinction in treatment is made between the delinquents and the other groups. The children are placed as rapidly as possible in family homes, some free of cost to the state, others at public expense. The total cost of maintaining the children, including those under three years of age, was over $1,000,000 for the year 1921.

A valuable feature of the work of the board is its care of children under three, some of whom are foundlings. These children are also placed in private homes, usually not more than two in any one home, but some difficulty is experienced in finding women willing to take the small babies because of the liability to sickness and the difficulty in preparing food for

them. In 1921 the mortality among the children under one year of age was 9.41 per cent—a rate but slightly higher than that of infants in the state as a whole.

c. Indiana.

Since 1897 Indiana has supplemented its county child welfare work with a state child-placing agency which in 25 years has handled 4632 children, most of whom were placed directly in private families. In addition to this work the department visits children placed in foster homes by local associations.

d. Local Boards of Children's Guardians.

St. Louis established a board of children's guardians in 1912. Formerly dependent children were cared for in the maintenance department of the industrial school, but the new law provides for a proper receiving room for the children and requires that they be placed in family homes in the city or within a radius of fifty miles. Children may be placed at board at a cost not to exceed $3.50 per week, and under certain conditions children may be boarded in their own homes with their mother.

A very significant type of work is carried on by the Board of Children's Guardians of the District of Columbia. This board consists of nine members, and handles foundlings and destitute, delinquent, and feeble-minded cases. Children may be placed in free homes or at board in either homes or institutions. The smaller children are usually placed in homes and the older ones in institutions, but the majority of all children are located in homes where they may be indentured, apprenticed, or placed on trial for adoption, and where children may be controlled until their majority. Many of the institutions utilized are in other states.

3. The County Home System.

The establishment of county homes for dependent children has been tried in Indiana and Ohio. In 1922 Indiana still had 36 such homes, but less than formerly, and in Ohio 59 counties used either some public or semi-public institution in a similar way. These homes are controlled by a local board and supported in whole or in part by the counties. Children are re-

moved from the almshouses or received from the courts and sent to these homes, although in some cases they are placed in private institutions. Sometimes the almshouse and children's home are controlled by the same management. Some counties are not provided with homes, but send their children to homes in the adjoining counties. The county homes are usually small, and something approaching family life is often realized, but the management is frequently inefficient because of the low salaries that are paid. The system tends to create a large institutional population and does not foster good placing-out facilities; furthermore, the children remain too long under institutional care. Ohio is now provided with a state children's bureau which rescues children from the counties, finds family homes, and charges the counties for the service and cost. The Indiana system as already indicated is also supplemented by a state placing-out agency, and by state supervision of the county homes. Besides, there is a definite movement in favor of a state school system.

4. The Subsidy System.

In a number of states the public pays for children placed under the care of private institutions. Chief among these states are New York and California. The subsidy may be paid by the county, town, or city responsible for the children. The system owed its beginning partly to the fact that private institutions developed complete machinery for the care of children before the establishment of a system of public care. Under these conditions the public authorities turned their wards over to the private institutions and agreed to pay a fixed sum for the service rendered.

Many institutions now take both public and private cases, but prefer the ones for whose care they will receive a subsidy. Accordingly whenever possible they have children committed to them by public authority. The system tends to encourage dependency, as is evident from the disproportionate number of children in the institutions of New York, California, and the District of Columbia. It is specially disastrous to foundlings

and abandoned babies who, when placed in the institutions, tend to be forgotten, while enormous death rates ensue. The system lessens the direct interest of the state in reducing apparent dependency; it reduces the responsibility of parents, and prevents institutions from returning children to their homes when parents have recovered their capacity to support their children. Nor does it foster placing-out especially if the subsidy paid exceeds the cost of maintaining the child. The public inspection of private institutions and their regulation by the state board of charities tend to reduce the evils of the subsidy system, but it is probable that the inherent disadvantages are so grave that the public must abandon this form of coöperation with private agencies and institute a complete system of public care.

5. Care of Neglected Children.

Probably a majority of the neglected children and those suffering from the cruelty and depravity of parents are handled by private agencies. Two types of public machinery for their care have also come into existence. Indiana furnishes an example of the first type. Here the state law provides for boards of children's guardians which may be formed in each county. These boards consist of six persons, half of whom must be women. The board files petitions for the custody of such children as need their intervention, and the court transfers them to the guardianship of the board; meanwhile the children remain with their parents, except in urgent cases, when they may be taken away. The boards are usually conservative and few cases are lost to them in court; they have become a valuable deterrent of cruelty and they have been able to settle many cases without recourse to legal process. The disposition of children is made in accordance with one of three possible methods: first, they may be taken to boards' homes; second, in the absence of boards' homes, they may be committed to an orphan asylum; third, they may be indentured or adopted. In most cases the children find places in individual homes. A recent law providing for the punishment of the parents or

guardians of neglected children increased the power of the boards.

In the large cities of the Central and Western states neglected and cruelty cases are handled by the juvenile courts. A petition charging neglect is filed and if sustained by the judge the child is declared "neglected." He is then placed under the supervision of the probation officers or removed from the home. If the latter plan is followed, he is then handled in the same manner as a dependent child. The methods of disposition vary among the different cities, but it is very important that each state give equal powers to father and to mother over their children in respect to earnings, education, control, and guardianship, in order to afford the children better protection. Otherwise children not taken from their homes are likely to remain in the custody of worthless fathers, for statistics show that the male parent is usually the chief offender.

6. Pensions for Mothers.

Public pensions for indigent mothers is a very recent form of philanthropy. Save for those cases of public outdoor relief that included pensions for mothers little was known about this subject until the enactment of the Illinois "Funds to Parents" Act in 1911. In theory we are dealing with a special form of outdoor relief, and the principle underlying mothers' pensions is the same as that which determines other forms of public outdoor relief. It is merely a case in public charity and must be regarded as such. Accordingly, two questions at once suggest themselves. Can public outdoor relief, which has proven a failure in so many cities, be restored again and now prove successful? Or is the mothers' pension a special case which can be isolated from the remainder of our relief problems and be adequately handled by the public? In discussing these questions it must be admitted at the outset that public philanthropy of all kinds is going to develop, and that it will be increasingly successful as public administration raises its standards. The principle on which public charity is based is correct, because it is the business of the state to assuage and to prevent distress.

The public is the natural agent of social service. Private charity is benevolent, but frequently it lacks the spirit of democracy.

A deluge of public relief at present would, however, prove extremely disastrous. We must therefore proceed slowly and meet such questions as: Will constructive work suffer? Will cases be properly cared for? Will they involve the entire field of outdoor relief? Would we be ready for such a contingency by the time it would probably occur? These questions cannot be answered categorically, and time alone will answer them.

The demand for pensions for mothers arose from the need of destitute mothers, especially widows that had been observed by such a public agency as the juvenile court. The great wave of legislation is, however, largely sentimental. The original Illinois law was enacted by politicians, and its provisions were not popular with the social workers. The Missouri law of 1911, applying to Kansas City only, embodied the ideas favored by the juvenile court of that city. The pension movement however soon gained the support of all classes of social workers; although some of the leaders in charity organization society work bestowed their favor rather grudgingly. During the twelve years 1911-1923, 43 states passed some form of pension measure.

a. Principal Features of Pension Laws.

The essential features of mothers' pension laws are the following: first, type of cases to be assisted. There is a great lack of uniformity on this point. The New Jersey law limits the relief to widows with children. Kansas City may pension mothers who are widows or whose husbands are in prison, or in some asylum for defectives. The Ohio law favors destitute widows and mothers whose husbands are completely disabled or are imprisoned or have deserted.

Among the most liberal of the state laws is that of Missouri. It covers both legitimate and illegitimate children, provided other conditions justify the pension. The law uses the terms mother and father instead of husband and wife and in-

cludes under its provisions mothers with children if the father is dead, in prison, in an institution for defectives, is physically incapacitated, has deserted or is divorced from the mother. The laws present the widest divergence from a very restricted class of mothers to all mothers in destitution without much discrimination.

Second, the medium of relief. In 18 states the juvenile courts have been invested with the duty of granting relief. This is partly due to the fact that juvenile courts frequently deal with dependent children and send them to institutions or turn them over to some child-placing agency, but instead of doing this they may now under these laws pension the mothers directly. This procedure, however, involves the assumption of a new function by the court—that of granting relief and of deciding on the amount. In disposing of children under the old law the courts did not themselves administer relief, but only passed on the condition of the children. In some cities, such as Chicago, where public outdoor relief is granted, machinery for this work is already in existence. The juvenile court by administering pension money must develop duplicate machinery, although it would seem better to use that already in existence. On the other hand, the juvenile court represents a high order of public administration, and if given an opportunity may show itself entirely adequate for the task. In fact the mothers' pension work of some of the juvenile courts of the country justifies a high degree of praise. The bitter attack by private philanthropy against the movement and particularly against the use of the juvenile court as an administrative agency has largely subsided.

The second method of administering the law, namely through the already organized channels of public relief, is perhaps best exemplified by the state of Massachusetts where the overseers of the poor are authorized to grant the pensions. Here however the state remits one-third of the pension in case it approves of the grant and in this way exercises an effective check on the work of the local agencies. In many of the states

there is definite provision for the granting of pensions through the county outdoor relief department. Often the department consists of nothing more than the unorganized relief work of a board of commissioners or supervisors. Under these conditions mothers' pensions threaten to become a farce. In many communities, however, a relief or welfare worker has been appointed and the duty and responsibility fall on him. In several states a superintendent of public welfare administers the law. In some communities local boards of child welfare are empowered to grant the pensions.

Third, the adequacy of investigation. When the juvenile court grants the pension it naturally determines the need, that is, it makes the investigation. The question has arisen whether or not such investigation will be adequate.

A report on Chicago made in 1913 indicated that the probation officers did not investigate nor supervise thoroughly. However the Federal Children's Bureau in its recent study of the administration of the Illinois law in Chicago came to very favorable conclusions. It discovered that the investigations required time, were very painstaking and that after the investigation was completed the pension was not granted until a conference committee had passed on the eligibility of the mother. More than one-half of the cases were studied from two to four months before a decision was made.

In a number of cities special departments of the juvenile court have been established to handle the pension problem and usually an excellent set of officials is selected for this work. Often the plan of coöperation with private philanthropies further safeguards the selection of cases.

Wherever state supervision exists a high degree of caution may be expected of the investigating agency, whether it be the juvenile court, or some other administrative body. The small towns and rural communities continue to furnish a problem. Nevertheless the boards of child welfare or county departments of public welfare authorized to carry out the law will gradually become more effective particularly as

public opinion demands more capable service. Comparison should not be made between the work done here and in the large cities, but between the granting of mothers' pensions and the giving of ordinary relief.

Fourth, adequacy of relief. It is easy to criticize a relief system, and probably very few private charitable agencies are giving adequate relief, but the blame is not always theirs. Many of the pension laws provide for a scale of compensation, the mother to be paid a certain sum for one child under a certain age, and a smaller sum for each of the additional children. For example, the New Jersey law allows $9.00 per month for the first child under 16; $5.00 for the second, and $4.00 for each additional one. The Ohio law allows $15.00 for the first child under 14, and $7.00 for each additional child. These are upper limits, but the courts use their discretion in granting the full amount.

Several states, Massachusetts among them, fix no definite limits but leave the amount of the pension to the administrative officials. Theoretically this is the correct plan and the one to be adopted as soon as the various communities can be trusted to employ standardized methods of aid. Adequate relief is not so much a problem of the amount allowed by law as the amount necessary to make a reasonable standard of living possible. Maximum allowances are necessary where social service methods are in their infancy, but a pension to make normal living possible cannot be shackled by such limitations. Every pension is a study in family rehabilitation. Under no conditions should the private resources of a family be omitted from consideration, but pensions should not be withheld because a woman owns a little property or may have a small income. The laws that require a woman to sell or alienate all her property before she becomes eligible to a pension miss completely the genius of American philanthropy and deserve the reprobation of the public. Every pension should be sufficient to prevent a family from constantly grazing the subsistence level. When granted, let it assist in de-

veloping a group of children into useful and respectable citizens.

b. Reasons for Giving Aid.

The causes of dependency constitute a serious social problem. In those states in which the laws practically limit the granting of pensions to widows the reason for giving aid is, of course, quite obvious. It throws little light, however, on the nature of the problem which the mothers' pension movement is attempting to meet. It becomes necessary to ascertain the reasons as given in the states where the laws are more inclusive. It is precisely this point of approach which was made by the United States Children's Bureau in its analysis of over 9000 cases reported from the states of Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Nebraska.[1] From this study it appears that widowhood was the dominating factor in three-fourths of the cases, the incapacity of the father in 13 per cent, desertion of mother and child in 10 per cent, divorce in one per cent and imprisonment in a similar proportion of cases. Separate figures for Massachusetts show that in 1921, 84 per cent of the cases were registered as cases of widows, that chronic illness of the father was the cause in 6.2 per cent and insanity in 2.5 per cent of the cases. The percentage due to desertion was only 5.7 and the other factors were negligible. In Michigan one per cent of the mothers were unmarried, and in Wisconsin considerable aid was extended to orphan children. Mothers' pensions are still largely widows' pensions, but a growing number of mothers are being aided because of the physical or mental breakdown of the father or the collapse of normal home life due to desertion or divorce.

c. Mothers' Pensions vs. Institutional Care of Children.

Mothers' pensions should be preferred over either child-placing or institutional care of children whenever the breaking up of the home seems undesirable. It is better to pay a mother to care for her own children than to require her to contribute

[1] Emma O. Lundberg, *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1921, p. 100.

toward the compensation of some other woman with whom the children are placed. The mothers' pension movement represents the best sociological orthodoxy in respect to the preservation of the family. The best person to care for a child is that child's mother. Biologically, sociologically, ethically, it is the function of parents to rear their children.

The sociology of mothers' pensions is also supported by the economics of the system. A mother can make better use of a dollar than a foster mother or an institution can, and she will serve her cause more faithfully. The public cost of the plan will also be less than that of the other methods of child care. Although general studies to ascertain this fact have not been made, very significant figures have been gathered in Pennsylvania to corroborate this conclusion. These figures show that in a typical county where it is claimed that the mothers' aid is adequate the cost of maintaining a child in the children's homes averages $3.40 per week while that of keeping a child with his mother costs $2.25 per week including all overhead expenses both state and county.[1] It appears then that the institutional care without providing additional benefits costs 50 per cent more than the home care.

d. Future of the Pension System.

That the pension system has come to remain for a long time is a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless the movement has been too precipitous. The call of the mother and her child has been too irresistible and considerable harm will be done, because public methods of philanthropy have not perfected themselves with a sufficient degree of rapidity to meet the conditions imposed by the deluge of mothers' pension legislation. At best public philanthropy hardly attained the level of private service and at its worst it presented an indescribable confusion of ignorance, inefficiency, graft and extravagance.

The pension system should at first have been limited to the larger cities where well-developed systems of private charity were in operation and where the contagion of efficient service

[1] The Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Corrections, December, 1922, p. 164.

might infect public administration. Gradually a state-wide application of the laws would then be possible. One of the fortunate features of the present situation is the failure of many local communities to use the law. At present it is far better for the system to lie dormant than to witness untrained officials attempting to put into operation a law that requires the delicate handling of the expert.

That the state should develop its charities in the field of outdoor relief, the author firmly believes, and a guarded pension system is a step in the right direction. The objection to public relief in the early days of private charity was partly due to official incapacity, but this difficulty is gradually being removed, and limited work along these lines is already very successful. As public philanthropy must increase we must move forward and profit by our mistakes. The present inelasticity of public systems will somewhat handicap pensions for mothers. The juvenile court, however, has shown a remarkable amount of elasticity, such as is needed by the public agency that will administer these pensions, and other agencies, particularly the special county organization formed to carry out the law are rapidly improving the quality of their work. State supervision is also proving helpful. Gradually increasing attention will be given to the removable causes of the dependency and a preventive program instituted. Meanwhile a great improvement in case work with the mother and her children is necessary, if the standards of to-day are to be satisfied. However, constructive work with mothers, which is so necessary to relief, can be developed under a system of public charity, and this will be necessary to make it a success and to prevent an overgrown pension list.

So-called pensions for mothers, although classified by some as a form of insurance, do not represent the form of relief that is ultimately desirable. Workingmen's compensation, insurance against accidents and occupational disease, old age insurance, health insurance and other forms of protection must be established. Fraternal organizations can greatly widen the

scope of their benefits and even commercial insurance can offer additional benefits to the less fortunate social groups. Industry should bear the burdens which it has created and organized society should systematically provide through some form of insurance system for the families whose misfortunes grow out of social neglect and which humanly speaking are individually unavoidable. Pensions for mothers should hasten the classification of the groups requiring public care and result in the development of the insurance plans best adapted to meet the needs of each particular group. As this movement progresses many families now pensioned will become the beneficiaries of social insurance, but a miscellaneous group may remain and these must continue as the field of mothers' pensions. However the movement cannot stop here. Just as workmen's compensation has led to safety campaigns and industrial rehabilitation, so must mothers' pensions lead to a searching analysis of the economic collapse that has occurred and to a program of prevention. It is not enough to safeguard a family against want by means of pensions or insurance. The best service consists in eliminating the need of service.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE CHILD WELFARE MOVEMENT

The child welfare movement is of recent origin. Social work did not conceive of interests in terms of children until a number of English writers and philanthropists lent their pens and their power. In America much depended on the pioneer work of Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Hastings Hart, and others. Not the nineteenth, but the twentieth century is the century of the child and to-day the call of the child can create an enthusiasm unequalled by any other demonstration in favor of social reform.

A number of significant developments are both cause and effect in the child welfare movement. They are as follows: first, children's code commissions; second, the birth of various national organizations interested in definite aspects of child welfare; and third, national conferences to discuss and promote child welfare projects. In addition, several notable legislative measures have been enacted which will serve as models for future legislation.

1. The Children's Code.

The United States has enjoyed an epidemic of Children's Code Commissions. Until the first Children's Code was prepared social workers strove to enact legislation affecting children piece-meal. They pushed one bill here and another there but had no vision of an organized body of child welfare laws and were ignorant of the magic of the term "child welfare." Forward-looking men conceived the idea of presenting the needed legislation in compact, coördinated form. However, their so-called code is not a code in the legal sense. Rather it represents standards of child welfare embodied in suitable

bills and supplementing the legislation already enacted. It has with greater accuracy been labelled a children's charter.

The first of these commissions was appointed in Ohio in 1911. It was authorized to unify the laws pertaining to illegitimate, defective, neglected, dependent, and delinquent children and to suggest such amendments as would bring the laws of the state in harmony with the best thought on the subject. The commission visited other states, corresponded with officials far and wide, held conferences within the state, consulted with the colleges, the business men, the state officials, the social workers and others. Out of this maze of advice, information, and cautions emerged a comprehensive set of bills which were presented to the Ohio legislature in 1913 and passed with little change. In several states commissions were appointed to study various phases of child welfare but the next two commissions of outstanding importance were the ones appointed in Minnesota and Missouri in 1916. The Minnesota body consisting of 12 members studied the subject under the four following heads:

Defective children, including related matter such as protection against transmissible disease and the regulation of marriage.
Dependent and neglected children.
Delinquent children, including contributory delinquency.
General Child Welfare, including vital statistics, school attendance, child labor, etc.

The Commission recommended the enactment of 43 measures. These bills were referred to a special committee composed of representatives of the house and the senate. A few were withdrawn by the Commission, because of objections that had developed but practically all of the remainder—35—were enacted into law in 1917, thereby giving Minnesota an excellent set of correlated, consistent and progressive child welfare laws.

The Missouri Commission was appointed by the governor of the state in 1916. A committee of three senators had been previously authorized to undertake the work but the appropriation

was not legal and the committee disbanded. The Code Commission consisted of 23 members, raised funds from private sources and began an exhaustive study of the problem. The Federal Children's Bureau assisted in the task by compiling an index of the then-existing child welfare laws. The needs in Missouri differed somewhat from those of Minnesota, with the consequence that committees were appointed covering the following subject matter:

General laws for the Protection of Children, including laws relative to illegitimacy, age of consent, common law marriage, notice of intention to marry, child desertion, etc.

Delinquent and Neglected Children, including contributory delinquency and neglect, commitment to institutions, juvenile probation, juvenile courts.

Defective Children, including bureau for mental defectives, compulsory commitment of defectives, special classes, prohibition of marriage of defectives, increased facilities for care of defectives.

Child Labor and Education, including various child labor and compulsory attendance bills.

Health and Recreation, including state division of child hygiene, county health boards, treatment of eyes of new-born infants, wider use of school buildings, control of commercial amusements, and provision for parks and playgrounds.

Destitute Children, including county departments of public welfare, city welfare boards, and state administration of institutions.

The Commission after a careful study of needed legislation prepared 42 bills to be submitted to the legislature. An elaborate report was published containing information relative to conditions in the state, arguments in favor of the measures recommended and drafts of the various bills. An educational campaign preceded the meeting of the legislature and throughout the session of 1917 a representative of the commission served at the state capital in behalf of the children's code. Sentiment, however, was not very favorable and only one-fourth of the bills were enacted into law. As a consequence a second commission was appointed and this continued the work. It was more successful; nevertheless a third commission became necessary, which pushed for enactment into law

in the assembly of 1921 the more important measures defeated before. In all more than 40 child welfare laws were passed by the three legislative assemblies.

The work and methods of the Minnesota and Missouri Commissions serve to illustrate the difficulties and progress of the children's code movement. Other states have followed the plan: many of these secured the official appointment of a code commission, while others have succeeded only in establishing unofficial groups whose duty was to study the child welfare situation and if they deemed it advisable to work for the appointment of an official body. The great majority of states have interested themselves in one of these methods of advancing child welfare. The program is much superior to that of former times in that it substitutes systematic constructive effort for piece-meal and patch work. It also marks a most significant phase of the entire child welfare movement.

The various codes have performed a service in classifying the field of child problems and the Children's Bureau has assisted in providing its own classification of child welfare legislation. The chief points in this classification are as follows:

Parent and Child
- Duties of Parents
- Rights of Parent and Child
- Marriage and Divorce
- Adoption
- Illegitimacy

Guardian and Ward

Offenses Against the Child

Health and Sanitation
- Blindness of Infants
- Hospitals for Children
- Midwives
- Vital Statistics
- Miscellaneous Health Laws
- Recreation

Education
- Administration
- Finance
- Miscellaneous
- Special Schools

Child Labor
- Child Labor Laws
- Compulsory School Attendance
- Apprenticeship
- Employment Agencies
- Workmen's Compensation
- Employment of Women

Public Care of Children
- State Boards
- County and Municipal Agencies

Delinquent Dependent and Neglected Children
- General
- Treatment of Delinquent Minors Apart from Juvenile Court
- Juvenile Courts
- Institutions for Delinquent
- Placing or Boarding Out
- Relief and Pensions

Defective Children
- General Provisions
- Prevention of Transmission of Defect

Rights of Minors
- Rights and Disabilities
- Miscellaneous Rights and Liabilities

This outline, although it does not deal consistently with particular problems, is most helpful from the standpoint of legislation as it simplifies the task of analyzing the laws of any particular state.

2. National Organizations engaged in the Promotion of Child Welfare.

Not only have the code commissions been heartily supported in their work by various national organizations, but these

agencies have independently sought to serve one or more fields of child welfare. With a number of these agencies every student should enjoy some familiarity.

a. Agencies Whose Primary Object is Child Welfare.

(1) The U. S. Children's Bureau.

The most conspicuous as well as most useful child welfare agency in the country is the Children's Bureau. For nearly a decade from the time of its inception it carried on a broad-guaged progressive program under the leadership of its first director—Miss Julia Lathrop. From an insignificant Bureau it has grown into a large organization. Its original purpose was to investigate problems of child life and to publish the results. However, its functions have enlarged and in addition to its research work, much practical educational service has been performed. It was given the administrative task of enforcing the first federal child labor law. More recently it participates in the administration of the maternity and infancy law. The investigations made cover a great variety of problems and conditions as well as types of administrative machinery. Among the subjects are infant mortality, maternity care, child labor conditions, children in sweat shops, physical conditions of children, malnutrition, delinquency in rural communities, mental defectiveness, child neglect and illegitimacy. Studies have been made of typical juvenile courts, standards for mothers' pensions and county child welfare organizations. Compilations have been made of various types of child welfare legislation; for example child labor laws, mothers' pension laws, and the state statutes relating to illegitimacy.

Among the reports of an immediately practical nature for the larger public are those relating to infant and pre-school care, child welfare programs and the proceedings of a number of conferences held under the auspices of the Bureau. Bureau Publication Number 120 appeared in the summer of 1923.

The Bureau has been active in promoting better standards of work in the various states and through the information it

has furnished it has been of material assistance in promoting the success of state legislative campaigns. It was a decisive factor in the enactment of the federal maternity and infancy law.

(2) National Child Labor Committee (New York City).

Among the private organizations conducting a nation-wide service, this agency occupies an enviable position. It has constantly been in the forefront of the fight to enact better child labor laws. It assisted the various states in their task and was largely responsible for the two federal child labor laws that were enacted but declared unconstitutional.

In recent years the organization has enlarged the scope of its work. Instead of limiting its surveys to studies of the child labor situation in particular communities it has made surveys of the general child welfare problem of entire states. The phases covered have usually been classified under such heads as health, education, recreation, child labor, rural life, delinquency and probation, care of dependent children, poor relief, and law and its administration. These general surveys have become excellent pictures of the child life of the various states in which they have been made. The organization is also interested in the passage of an amendment to the federal constitution empowering Congress to enact child labor legislation.

(3) The American Child Health Association (Washington).

This organization is the merger of two other agencies and has its roots in activities begun about 1910. The association is interested in "the whole field of child health from the prenatal period to the high school age." It stimulates every movement calculated to promote the health of mothers and babies, to secure adequate birth registration, to popularize periodic health examinations, to develop health habits in children, to improve health instruction, to make standards of health attractive to children and to develop standards of growth and measurements.

The association through its field service offers demonstra-

tions, studies, conferences, lectures, exhibits and practical advice and will aid in developing local organizations. It has a monthly publication and issues a great variety of pamphlets covering its field of work.

(4) Boy Scouts of America (New York City).

The organization was founded in 1910 and has developed its work throughout the country. It provides stimulus for the movement, maintains standards and keeps in touch with the local organizations. It develops community and educational work including courses for Scout leaders and executives. Its field representatives assist the local communities in financial campaigns and have general supervision over the organizations in their district. Lantern slides and moving pictures have been prepared to describe Scout activities, and pamphlets, folders and a monthly magazine are included among the literature of the organization.

(5) The Big Brother and Big Sister Federation (New York City).

This organization aims to stimulate personal interest in children among well-poised men and women who recognize an obligation to serve society and the community. The immediate aim of the national organization is to develop the local societies to organize new ones in untried fields and to standardize the work that is being carried on. It is recognized that there is an extensive field in which the volunteer may function, but unless he serves effectively he discounts his organization. Successful supervision, therefore, becomes one of the problems which these organizations must endeavor to perfect.

(6) The Playground and Recreation Association of America (New York City).

This organization, formed when the playground movement was in its incipient stages, has spent its energies largely in developing a municipal consciousness of the need of playgrounds for children and social centers for older children or young persons. It has steadfastly demanded the public support of recreational activities and through its field agents and

literature has assisted greatly in bringing about the gratifying advance in the playground movement that has occurred since 1907. It publishes a monthly magazine entitled "The Playground."

(7) The Child Welfare League of America (New York City).

This organization was founded in 1915 and originally served largely as an information bureau for a group of child-caring societies. Later it enlarged the scope of its work and at present its principal aims are the following:

To investigate for any other subscribing society the case of any child within its district and perform other types of practical service;

To promote standards in the various fields of child welfare;

To furnish information in regard to experiments that are carried on and to help organize surveys in local communities;

To provide local agencies with the services of specialists;

To encourage the gathering of accurate statistics and to promote appropriate research work.

(8) The National Child Welfare Association (New York City).

This organization was a result of the flood of child welfare exhibits that occurred some years ago. Its chief service consists in the development of exhibit material for educational and propaganda work. This material is reproduced and furnished to agencies throughout the country. It is largely of a general nature and does not aim to represent local conditions. Usually, however, the posters are serviceable wherever they may be used.

(9) Iowa Child Welfare Station (Iowa City, Iowa).

Although strictly speaking not a national organization, nevertheless the work of the station is of a general character and the benefits therefrom will be nation-wide. It was established to study the normal child particularly, and its general research work covers subjects such as physical growth of children, physical conditions, nutrition, mental development, and

the influence of social control. Experiments in teaching certain types of children also furnish useful demonstrations of method.

b. Agencies, One of Whose Objects is Child Welfare.

(1) U. S. Bureau of Education.

This bureau naturally must give considerable attention to subjects that directly affect the child. While its bulletins deal largely with educational matters many of them must necessarily consider the sociological aspects of the problem and therefore are of interest to the student of child welfare. Among the important bulletins are those discussing such subjects as the education of the deaf, the blind and crippled, the problems of open air schools, institutions for delinquent children, vocational education, training of exceptional children, medical inspection of schools, sex education, and organization of rural schools.

The biennial reports of the bureau give valuable information in regard to the progress of school systems throughout the country, school attendance, cost of education and distribution of children in the grades.

(2) National Committee for Mental Hygiene (New York City).

Founded in 1909, this organization began its efforts in behalf of the insane. However, in expanding its work it naturally was forced to include the feeble-minded and to give increasing attention to the mental problems and conditions of children. As a consequence the Committee has become the outstanding national organization that is coping with the problem of feeble-mindedness and educating the country in respect to the prevalence and menace of this defect.

The organization has gone farther. Through its official force it has made numerous surveys in different parts of the country in order to enable the various communities to know the extent and menace of mental subnormality and to map out an appropriate program. It has also served as the medium through which the value of psychiatric clinics is being demonstrated

to the country. It operates a clinic in a given community for a certain length of time and hopes by the expiration of that time to convince the local public that it ought to make the clinic a definite part of its machinery for promoting child welfare.

(3) The National Probation Association (New York City).

This organization deals with both adult and juvenile probation. Its chief aim is to popularize the probation system and to raise the standards of probation work. The methods used are personal service and educational propaganda. It prepares pamphlets, leaflets and general reports some of popular character; others for the specialist.

(4) Russell Sage Foundation (New York City).

The Foundation was established in 1907 and although child welfare represents a minor phase of its work nevertheless it has made notable contributions to this field of social service.

In the first place many of its investigations have dealt with significant aspects of child welfare, as is exemplified by the published works on medical inspection, backward children, delinquency, dependent children, wider use of schools and similar subjects.

The Foundation has established a number of departments some of which deal with phases of child welfare. These departments have prepared pamphlets and reports, have assisted in promoting legislation and in developing organized service and have served effectively in raising standards of social work.

(5) American Social Hygiene Association (New York City).

Although dealing largely with problems relating to adults, the organization is interested in several phases of child welfare. Among the six departments of its work is the Department of Educational Activities which promotes sex education, prepares pamphlets suitable for parents and others for children of various ages, publishes selected bibliographies of acceptable literature and is developing standard methods of instruction in respect to sex, heredity, and social disease. The association also aims to promote prospective measures such

as better age of consent laws and more effective care and control of the illegitimate child as well as methods of preventing illegitimacy.

3. Conferences on Child Welfare.

An effective method of promoting child welfare consists of the various conferences held from year to year to consider and discuss the current problems and methods of solution. The most important of these conferences have been the White House Conference of 1909 called by President Roosevelt and attended by more than 200 persons interested in child welfare and the Washington Conference of 1919 called by the Federal Children's Bureau. At each of these conferences noteworthy standards were adopted to guide welfare workers in their plans and activities. At the later conference also special committees were appointed to study particular subjects and, if possible to suggest appropriate standards.

The most important annual conference of which child welfare is a beneficiary is the National Conference of Social Work. The organization has a committee on children which presents some phase of the child problem practically each day during the annual meeting of eight or nine days. Here experts in child welfare confer and the novice begins to learn. The proceedings are published and reach a larger audience.

In a majority of the states annual state conferences of social workers are held and at these meetings child welfare likewise receives a large share of attention.

Another very important annual conference is that of the National Education Association consisting largely of teachers and having an enormous membership. The phases of child welfare with which it deals are the social aspects of education including medical inspection, physical education, recreation, training of backward, anæmic, handicapped and defective children, sex and industrial education and allied problems. This educational process reaches the local communities through state conferences which are attended by many who are unable to attend the larger meeting.

In a similar way annual or biennial conferences are held under the auspices of various national organizations including the following:

National Federation of Day Nurseries.
National Probation Association.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mothers' Congress and Parent-Teacher's Association.
National Tuberculosis Association.

All of these conferences disseminate information, stimulate interest in child welfare, and lead to improved methods of work by social agencies and to better legislation.

4. Significant Child Welfare Measures.

Several legislative developments of far-reaching importance to child welfare have occurred since 1915. They touch the general field of child welfare and therefore could not be analyzed in connection with the particular phases of the problem as discussed in the foregoing pages of this book. However the student must acquaint himself with these measures which are so significant and so pregnant with social possibilities.

a. County Departments of Public Welfare.

County Departments of public welfare were first thought of in Missouri and for 10 years strenuous efforts were made to procure legislation on the subject, but not until 1921 was the attempt successful. Meanwhile the idea had spread and North Carolina and Virginia have each enacted laws embodying the fundamental principles of the plan while other states have borrowed certain features.

According to the plan the social work of a county or community is to be concentrated in a department of public welfare instead of being scattered about among a considerable number of individuals, some of whom are on part-time while others are mere volunteers and probably none of whom are trained in social service. The alternative offered is a paid position, a full-time worker, a trained person and thoroughly correlated social service. Opponents of the plan maintain that one de-

partment (and this often means one official) cannot do efficient work on all kinds of cases and that specialization is necessary. The answer is special equipment is valuable, but the alternative lies between the general practitioner and the untrained person. There should be no doubt about the choice.

The Missouri law provides for the appointment of county superintendents of public welfare with duties such as the following:

(1) To administer outdoor relief.

(2) To carry out the mothers' pension law.

(3) To serve as agent for the children's bureau of the state board of charities in its child-placing work.

(4) To discover neglected, delinquent and defective children and secure for them the benefits of the law.

(5) To supervise persons paroled or discharged from the state hospitals for the insane.

(6) To serve as parole officer for boys and girls conditionally released from the state training schools and also for persons paroled from the institutions for adults.

(7) To act as the agent of the state factory inspector in enforcement of factory laws, including child labor laws.

(8) To coöperate with the state employment bureau.

(9) To serve as attendance officer if appointed by the educational board or county superintendent of schools.

(10) To serve as probation officer if appointed by the judge of the juvenile court.

(11) To investigate applications of blind persons for pension.

(12) To study causes of poverty and crime and to suggest measures of prevention or improvement.

It should be noted that a majority of these functions relate to children, but that the administration of other forms of social service is included. The strength of the plan lies in the concentration of the child welfare problems in one office, which if necessary can increase the number of officials sufficiently to make possible such specialization as may be necessary. In

Missouri the law applies only to counties having less than 50,000 population, but the allied North Carolina law makes no such limitation. In North Carolina an unpaid county board of public welfare has been created and the superintendent is chosen by this board instead of by the county commissioners. Such a board should constitute a real asset to the plan.

b. The Minnesota Plan.

In Minnesota the state board of control is given unusual power. It is the duty of the board to promote the enforcement of all laws for the protection of defective, illegitimate, dependent, neglected and delinquent children, to coöperate to this end with juvenile courts and all reputable child-saving agencies whether public or private and to take the initiative in these matters if adequate provision has not been made. To carry out this comprehensive program, the board created a children's bureau consisting of two departments; one deals with the placing of dependent children and with the feeble-minded committed to the board, and the other with unmarried mothers, illegitimate children, and the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals, infant homes and child-helping organizations.

The needs of the state could not, however, be met by the children's bureau working alone. Without local organization the work would be most unsatisfactory. The Minnesota plan therefore permits the state board of control at the request of the county commissioners to appoint county child welfare boards. These boards are composed of from five to seven members each and must include the county superintendent of schools and one of the county commissioners. These appointees constitute an unpaid board but they may employ a secretary and assistants, who will then represent the executive agents of the board. The duties of these boards are such as may be required of them by the board of control and are therefore largely delegated duties. However the law specifies certain activities as follows: Agents of the board may be re-

quested to serve as probation officers, and as attendance officers and to aid in the investigation and supervision of allowances to mothers. The board may also supervise and direct the county public health nurse work. The state board requires coöperation by the country boards in the handling of adoption cases, in the placing-out of dependent children, in treating the problem of the unmarried mother and her child, and in obtaining public guardianship for feeble-minded children. A considerable degree of power and responsibility is granted to the local boards, which are also expected to assist in enforcing the child labor law, the compulsory attendance law, and the regulations covering commercial amusements. As a consequence these boards become centers to which problems and cases involving child welfare are referred. Quite naturally they are beginning to promote plans directly.

The principle on which the Minnesota plan is based is centralized responsibility in the state board with decentralized administration through the county boards. Gradually, however, the functions and authority of the local boards are being increased, possibly in order to bring about a greater unification of the handling of the various local social problems and to obtain a proper balance between state and local responsibility.

c. County Boards in New York.

In 1915 the State of New York passed a law creating county boards of child welfare to administer pensions for needy mothers. Each county and many towns already had poor law officials who handled outdoor relief. The new law therefore encroached on the precincts of these officials and considerable dissatisfaction developed. As a consequence in 1917, Dutchess County secured the enactment of a state law applying to that county only, providing for a board of children's guardians with all the powers of the poor law officials and of the board of child welfare created by the mothers' pension law. This board exemplifies a plan of child welfare work, its powers and duties being as follows:

(1) To aid dependent children,
  by granting aid to mothers.
  by receiving children from the courts.
  by placing children in family homes or boarding them in homes or institutions.
(2) To handle neglected children,
  by instituting proceedings if necessary and by receiving children for care and disposition.
(3) To receive delinquent children subject to placement in boarding homes or institutions.
(4) To aid defective children,
  by placing them in suitable institutions.
  by securing treatment for them in their own homes.
  by supervising cases not in institutions.
(5) To serve other classes,
  by means of investigations.
  by securing mental and physical examinations.
  by means of special relief such as money promised by parents or relatives.

The new board with its extensive powers and field of operation quickly demonstrated the feasibility of greater concentration of service in the smaller communities as well as the practicability of an enlarged public philanthropy.

A second New York county which secured special legislation and which illustrates the child welfare movement is Westchester. In 1916 the law created a county bureau of public welfare with an elected official as its head and with six divisions or departments, one of which deals with child welfare. The chief functions of the department are the supervision and care of dependent children away from their homes and the administration of the mothers' pension law. An auxiliary service consists of the mental and physical examinations made through the psychiatric clinic that has been established.

The department has inevitably become the machinery for the examination of mental defectives and epileptics and has gradually been forced to take charge of the cases of feeble-

mindedness as they arise. It now brings court proceedings when necessary and even transfers the younger defectives to the state institutions.

The work of the department has been liberally supplemented with private funds and a remarkable degree of coöperation with private agencies has been achieved. The sustained interest by private individuals has assisted in the maintenance of high standards of child caring. To a marked degree also the family welfare work is being dovetailed into the child-saving service of the department. As a consequence the experiment is producing valuable educative effects and bids fair to stimulate radical improvements in the methods of care heretofore provided. The department has consistently employed trained social workers for which the private subsidies have perhaps been partly responsible. No doubt the educational work accomplished is in part due to the use of a competent staff interested in prevention as well as relief.

Experiments and developments such as these which have briefly been described in the foregoing pages serve as guides for other communities. It is significant that these developments are of recent origin and that they represent a variety of methods of approach. Without doubt the lessons that they teach will rapidly be appropriated by other communities and improved methods of child welfare work be established.

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CONCLUSION

Child welfare has been placed on the map. It has been given an identity which a former generation did not recognize. In fact there is some danger that in the minds of many it may be isolated too far from other social problems. Many child problems merge into family problems and lack separateness. Nevertheless modern social, industrial and educational conditions make individual as well as family welfare an item of public consideration. There is and must be a child welfare program.

The investigational work of a decade has accomplished much and is greatly lessening the probability of ill-advised legislation, although there should be no relaxation along the well-established lines. Certain subjects of study still need special attention. Among these are the problems of physcial degeneracy, malnutrition, standards of physical growth, psychopathic manifestations, sex education, and the effects of a socially controlled environment. Only in this way will the foundations for a correct program and for uninterrupted progress be laid.

Another important item of consideration is the economic basis of social reform. The social worker threatens to attempt reform without having properly weighed the importance of the fundamental conditions that shape and determine the problems he wishes to solve. Too often the sight of intolerable conditions prompts him to appeal to the reputed omnipotence of law, when the basis for effective legislation has not even been touched. It is not easy to overthrow the economic and psychological forces that drive men to action, but it is possible to direct these forces to the end that conditions may be improved. Social legislation frequently resembles an inverted

pyramid, which at the slightest jolt will lose its balance and fall to the ground; to become substantial it must rest on enduring foundations. Our social workers need more training in economics and politics; otherwise much unwise and impossible legislation will be enacted. Unless conditions and effects are related to causes little can be accomplished. Nevertheless it was only after many years that the National Conference of Social Work finally became reconciled to the discussion of such fundamental questions as the labor problem and tax reform. Even now a large part of its time is spent in discussing the details of our philanthropic machinery while many eager listeners have not begun to inquire into the reasons for the existence of this machinery and the methods of lessening the need.

At present we are in great danger of making men and women skillful in the performance of some single process without teaching them to comprehend the interrelations of social phenomena or the significance of economic developments. Our training schools for social workers must fit individuals for the routine of their daily work, but unless such workers are grounded in the principles of social and community welfare, the work is of little value. Of far greater importance than successful case work is the power to inspire and the capacity to develop community action for the promotion of the common good.

Again we must place increasing reliance on public action. Reform proceeds slowly, but as interest in our social problems grows, progress becomes rapid and cumulative. The public mind must be convinced of the need of fundamental measures of reform; democratic ideas must take root and the area of interest in social welfare expand to the fullest extent; and reformers must learn the necessity of gaining the support of the public. Social reform depends on the limitation of individual rights and the subordination of the individual to the group or the community. More public action is needed to interest our citizens in the problems of social welfare and their relations to the individual and to society. Furthermore, it is

necessary to teach the lesson that the interests of all are greater than the selfish interests of the few. Gradually then the community will realize that low wages mean a lifelong handicap; that careless milking means dying babies; that one immoral life may contaminate a whole family, and it will insist that the higher interests of all shall be conserved.

Meanwhile we find a small group contending that child labor is an evil, yet child labor bills fail; that bad housing harvests tuberculosis, yet good tenement house legislation cannot be passed; that lack of factory inspection yields accident and disease, yet the states refuse to act. Not the small group but the entire thinking public must be made ready for projects of reform, otherwise legislation is largely nugatory. The older principle of individual work carried on by a few willing workers is obsolete, and in its place we have the aspiration of the masses who through public action establish minimum standards for all, and insist that all refractory individuals square themselves with the adopted standards or suffer repression. The state cannot through law make men moral nor give them high ideals, but it can maintain standards which when they are accepted by the community pave the way for the establishment of new and better standards. Meanwhile private enterprise through the church and other moral and social agencies arouses the few to nobler ideals, which then slowly spread through the community and are finally crystallized into law. Thus the state permits no backward step, but conserves that which is good and steadily takes advantage of the opportunity to establish new planes of conduct.

The time has also come when we must relegate to the rear our older methods of individual work and begin to apply the new. Private charity is often narrow and individualistic and concerns itself only with binding up the wounds of the distressed. In fact, the work of private philanthropy has been so urgent that most of the time has been given to the task of rearranging the numberless detailed results of the social order without much inquiry into the principles of the social system.

It has failed to observe the forest because of the many trees. Remedial work, to be sure, is frequently accompanied by preventive methods, especially as they apply to the individual, but the larger task of improving general conditions, of raising each new generation to a higher level and of performing constructive work for the entire community—this task has received but scant attention. More and more, however, these new duties are pressing forward, and men of vision are eagerly grasping them with the hope that they may receive the support which work of a permanent value merits.

The problems of the child are also to a large extent dependent on the standards of the family. Recent facts and statistics regarding the family tend to inspire pessimism and the fear that disintegrating forces of insurmountable character are rapidly completing its destruction. Such a fear, the author believes, is greatly exaggerated, nevertheless the transformation which the family is undergoing at the present time cannot be permitted to take its own course without guidance and direction from the leaders in moral and social thought. No adequate substitute for the home has yet been found and the fundamental biology and psychology of the human race is such that none appears in sight. Accordingly the home must provide the child with that portion of his nurture which it is best fitted to give and which represents its part in the division of labor necessary to guide, train and prepare a child for proper functioning in society. The family has a heavy burden to bear and shifting cannot be allowed. Otherwise the foundations of modern social effort will be wrongly based.

The ultimate success of efforts for reform and improvement is certain. The dynamic power of social and religious ideals cannot be permanently counteracted and as a consequence the harsh and stalwart individualism of yesterday is slowly giving way to a recognition of the superior claims of public welfare. Business men are beginning to recognize that their private business has aspects that involve the public and is therefore not wholly private; that pay rolls are not a purely private

matter; that the cost of goods is a question of public concern; and that dividends involve the public. Employees are learning that the old individualism is no longer sufficient and that mutual rights and duties must be recognized. Charitable agencies have seen the necessity of making a public account of their work, and of submitting it to investigation if necessary. Gradually the solidarity of the interests of a community is being recognized, and with this change comes the willing subordination of the individual to the social welfare. The result is greater rights and opportunities for all. By beginning with the child we may hope to build up and perfect the coming man.

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